

© *Political Instructions*
For the U S E of
GENTLEMEN:
O R, T H E
A R T
O F
Rising at COURT.

S H E W I N G
The Best Methods, as well for the
Improving, as Laying the Foundation
of a Gentleman's Fortune.

D E D U C E D
From the MAXIMS and POLITICKS, made
use of by all kinds of *Governments.*

Together with
Maxims and Reflexions on the
Art of W A R.

Useful for all Gentlemen who do, or in-
tend to, lead a *Military Life.*

Marte & Mercurio.

L O N D O N :

Printed for C. Smith, at the Roe-Buck between the
Temple-Gates in Fleet-street. 1708.

H 5937.08

~~GOK 526.7~~



LIBRARY

To the Reader.

THE Design of the ensuing Sheets, is not in the least presumptuously to pretend to inform, or direct, such Sage and Experienc'd States-men as those where-with our Country (to its Immortal Honour and Present Tranquillity) is so plentifully furnished. Our Noble Patriots need no such puny and indifferent Assistance. What Ease, Peace and Plenty, do we now enjoy under their Conduct and Administration of Affairs; what happy Effects may be expected from the, heretofore unsuccessfully attempted, UNION of these Two Nations, now happily perfected and accomplish'd, by their wise Procurement. How miserably hath Italy, once so renowned for Politicks, been harass'd and laid waste, by the Powerful Armies of Contending Parties. What miserable Havocks and Devastations are daily made, amongst the once so reputed subtil Spaniards. France, with all its Prowess and Policy, has

P R E F A C E.

not been able to keep its Dominions from feeling the direful Effects of Intestine Convulsions, and Foreign Invasions. To how deplorable an Estate and Condition is almost all the North of Europe reduc'd to, and what Slaughters still have been, and more still are daily expected, in the Bowels of the Empire itself. It would be very unnecessary, so soon to remind the World, how much it was indebted to our most Gracious QUEEN, for that Measure of Peace and Quiet it at present enjoys. We are the People that supply Europe with Heads, Hearts and Hands ; and those Places prove most unfortunate, that are most remote and distant, and want our Direction, as well as Assistance. The Intent therefore of this Treatise, is to lay down some Maxims, which, if put in Practice, may be useful to such, whose generous Education and distinguish'd Characters, may entitle them to Pretensions, and whose exalted Genius shall inspire them with a Noble and Commendable Ambition to advance their Fortunes by the Service of their Prince and Country, so that Great Britain
may

P R E F A C E.

may never want a Succession of such Wise and Valiant Patriots, as it is at present blest with. The Matters here treated of, are not strictly confined to any particular Function, as either the Gown, Sword, &c. nor indeed determined to any particular State of Life, but may be naturally extended and applied to Persons of Publick and Private Capacities. They may be instructive to the States-Man and Soldier, to the Magistrate and Private Gentleman. They contain Directions for a Man's deporting himself in all Relations, to Superiours, Inferiours, or Equals; and no Person, of what Estate or Condition soever, that is but somewhat raised above the common Rank of Mankind, but may find very much worthy his Observation. There are no Machiavilian Methods of Politicks delivered here, nor any thing base, sordid, or abject, beneath the Character of a good Christian, or a fine Gentleman; nothing but what tends to the correcting our Morals, as well as inciting us to Noble and Heroick Actions, and to acquire Fame and Honour by glorious Achievements. And that we have more particularly

P R E F A C E.

particularly recommended those in the Field of Mars; it is humbly hoped, none will judge such an Undertaking unseasonable, at such a time when the Arms of Great Britain have been carried to Regions so remote, and so many brave Gentlemen have gallantly exposed themselves to the utmost Dangers, to deliver those that groaned under Tyranny and Oppression. How many Persons that were signaliz'd, both for Virtue and Valour, have fallen in such Expeditions? The honourable Character they have left, is fresh and fragrant, and celebrated in the Remembrance of Persons of the meanest Intelligence.

I shall not anticipate the Reader with what is said upon this Account, and what Arguments are produced to animate and incite the brave Spirited Youths of our Martial Nation, to the Use and Exercise of Arms; it being the most Ancient and Universal Way, by which our Ancestors acquired their Honours, though the most hazardous; which never proved the least Obstacle to a Noble and Aspiring Soul, who will always postpone Danger and Fatigues, to the Honour and Glory acquir'd.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

CH A P. I.

OF Politicks in general, and such Maxims, as are common to the Formation and Establishment of all States.

CH A P. II.

Containing five Maxims, necessary for the Conservation of a State.

- Maxim I. Of the Wisdom of a Sovereign.
II. Of the Goodness of a Sovereign.
III. Of the Authority and Power of Sovereigns.
IV. Of the Union, necessary to the Preservation of a State.
V. Of Peace, how conducive it is to the Preservation of a State.

CH A P. III.

Containing five Maxims, for the Enlargement and Increase of a State.

- Maxim I. Of the Increase of a State by Agriculture, and Architecture.
II. Of the Increase of a State by Manufactures.
III. How a State flourishes by Merchandize between the Subjects themselves, and Commerce with Strangers.
IV.

C O N T E N T S.

IV. *How a State grows in Power by Marriages, Successions, Elections, Donations, Purchases and Engagements.*

V. *Of the Increase of a State, by right of Arms, and making Conquests.*

C H A P. IV.

Containing ten Maxims proper for Aristocracies.

C H A P. V.

Treating of Political Maxims proper for Democracies.

C H A P. VI.

Maxims and Reflections on the Art of War.

Of an Offensive War.

Of a Defensive War.

Of those that Commence War.

Maxims for a General of an Army.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 2. l. ult. r. *is not confin'd.* p. 9. l. 7. r. *Artist,* l. 29. r. *to advance,* p. 11. l. 23. r. *would repose any,* p. 14. l. 6. r. *Person only,* p. 22. l. 5. r. *Lewis XIV.* p. 50. l. 20. r. *Vitupetio,* p. 70. l. 19. r. *to procure,* p. 76. l. ult. r. *the opposite.*

Political Instructions,
 For the Use of
GENTLEMEN;
 OR, THE
A R T
 O F
Rising at COURT.

C H A P. I.

*Of Politicks in general, and such Maxims
 as are common to the Formation and
 Establishment of all States.*

M A X I M I.

THE most common Notion of this Science,
 may be resolv'd into the following De-
 finition: 'The Art of Living well
 and happily in all Stations what-
 soever. That Branch which respects Crown'd-
 Heads, is the Art of Good Government; and
 the part of the Subjects is, to acquit themselves
 worthily of the Allegiance they owe their Prince.
 'Tis incumbent upon the one, to issue out his
 B Com-

Commands discreetly, and on the other to pay due Obedience to them : Both are absolutely necessary to produce that Harmony in a Civil Society, which the mutual Benefit of its Members require : the latter, which has been treated of by many Hands, under the Phrase of being acquainted with the Court, and knowing the World, is the most Universal, and of the most Extensive Service, there being more Subjects than Sovereigns.

Moralists divide their Study into three Parts; Monastick, which is each Man's Government of himself; Oeconomick, or the Conduct of a Family; and the Government of Communities, which is the Subject of our present Discourse.

The First teaches all Men their true Interest and Happiness, by shewing them how to submit their Passions to Reason; the Second instructs Masters of Families in their Duty; and the Third, which our Business here is to explain, bears the noblest Character of them all, tending to the Good of the Society in general; which is the firmest Security for the Welfare of each Private Family and Person in the Community.

R E F L E X I O N.

I have defin'd Politicks to be, the Art of Living well and happily in all Stations whatsoever; no wonder then if I recommend it as necessary to all Men, it being a Science which forms and refines the Understanding, and renders Men Prudent and Circumspect : The Use of it is confin'd to the Throne, but descends

to Persons in a Private Capacity; it teaches them how to gain the Favour of the Great, the Friendship of their Equals, and due Respect from their Inferiors. The Clergy use it to establish and confirm Religion; the Quality to live with Renown at Court, in the Army, or Government of a Province; and Magistrates, together with Private Men, find great Advantage by it, learning from hence how to behave themselves, in their respective Stations.

I advise Gentlemen, for whom I chiefly write, to apply themselves to the Study of Eloquence; their Conscience, Honour, and Interest obliges them to it, to Speak and Write well, and to support a Noble Conversation in the World: As also to the Practick, especially the Military, part of the Mathematicks; to understand the Art of War, and make themselves capable of the most eminent Posts in the State: But above all, to the Study of Morals; which instead of stuffing Men up with an empty useless Knowledge, makes 'em sagacious, discreet, awful and respected, and points the Way to an Happy Life under all Circumstances.

Not that I decry your Curious and Speculative Sciences, as unbecoming a Gentleman; 'tis good to know as much as we can: But 'tis certain, that these Sciences too often prove but vain useless Amusements, and are fitter to fill one's Head with bare Notions, than to form the Mind to true Wisdom and

Prudence : Therefore any one may rest satisfy'd with Eloquence, the Military Part of the Mathematicks, Ethicks, and chiefly this Branch of it, *Politicks*; with Reflexions suited to your own Case, if you expect to be well receiv'd in the World, and to advance your Fortune.

The reason is, because a Gentleman who is Master of a Persuasive Tongue, a Mathematician, and a good Politician, is undoubtedly in a fair way of *Rising at Court*, where he has an Opportunity of conversing with the Great, and has Sense enough to make the best Use of it : He's fit for the Command of a Province, to be a Mediator between Princes, and a kind Patron of the Quality in his Country; he's qualify'd for Negotiations, where Policy is the greatest Assistant; and in the Army, it furnishes him with Conduct to lead to Victory : If his Humour be more soft, and he would apply himself to the Ladies Company, nothing can make him more agreeable. In a word, it capacitates him for any thing his Inclination tends to.

M A X I M II.

The most convenient Method for handling this Discourse, is, to divide it into Three Parts: The Acquisition or Raising of a State; The Preservation of it; and The most likely Means to enlarge it.

Governments may be branch'd into Three Sorts : The First is commanded by one Single Person, which we call a Monarchy, or Principality, as 'tis in England, France, or Spain. The Second is Aristocracy, or a Lordship, where the Administration is in the hands of the Nobles, that is, the Great Men, or Best Sort of Citizens; thus 'tis at Venice, and Genoua. The Last is Democracy, or a Commonwealth, where the Sovereignty is lodg'd in the People; the Society in this case is govern'd by Laws consented to by the unanimous Suffrage of each Member of the Community, and Magistrates of their own Election have the Execution of them; this Constitution may be seen in Holland, and more especially among the Switzers.

We may reckon three more Species of Unjust Government, occasioned either by Usurpation, or by extending a Lawful Power beyond Bounds: As Tyranny, which is opposite to Monarchy; the next is Oligarchy, the reverse of Aristocracy; and the third, Anarchy, is Confusion in a State, and is contrary to Popular Government.

'Tis much controverted among Politicians, which of these different Species is most preferable; but after all the dust they have rais'd about it, 'tis certain, that each has its Advantages and Disadvantages, as every thing in this World has. However, every Man in Prudence ought to esteem the Constitution under which he is born, to be the most convenient, and the best suited to the Subjects, whose Choice originally it was. The Reason is, that no New Governments being founded in our Times, but by our Ancestors, in deference to their Prudence

who form'd it, and to avoid the Confusion which attends an Alteration of that Nature, we should accommodate our selves to it.

To endeavour the Subversion of a Government already fix'd, is to expose our selves to the Vengeance of God and Man; and undoubtedly subjects the Actors in such a destroying Tragedy, to the most severe Punishments, both here and hereafter. We in England live under an Hereditary and Absolute Monarchy, but pay Allegiance to the best Princess in the World: We have reason to think our Constitution to be the happiest of all; both because 'tis the most resembling Copy of Divine Administration in the Works of his Providence, which any Society affords, God swaying all things by his own prescribed Rules of Justice and Mercy; as also because Tyranny, which is its Opposite, is the most odious and destructive to the Publick; besides all Histories bear Witness that Royalty is the most Ancient, the most Famous, and Universal; and all the People of Asia, Africa, America, and the greatest part of Europe, would never have retained it so long, if they had not found it to be a Constitution of all others the happiest for Mankind. The Saviour of Mankind himself, notwithstanding his Humiliation for the Salvation of our Souls, had, and bore the Title of, King of the Jews, according to the Inscription Pilate put over his Head, J. N. R. I.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Person of Quality ought, after the Example of Princes, to be diligent in establishing his Fortune; to preserve what his Ancestors left him; and to labour to increase it, by any means that Honour and Conscience will allow. He that is void of Ambition to advance himself, that dreams over a Patrimony without a thought of enlarging it, seldom has that Courage and Briskness, which is requisite to make a great Man; and indeed, a Gentleman that is insensible of the Charms of Honour, is fit for nothing. Such Moderation, as they call it, looks well upon no Body but a plodding, faint-hearted Citty, or a Stoick Philosopher; such a Cavalier would suit better with *Diogenes's* Tub, than an Eminent Post in the State: Allow, that ill Fortune may oppose our Advancement, we come off however Honourably if we make a fair push for it.

As there be three several Forms of Government, under all of which one may enjoy an happy Life; so there are three sorts of Conditions of Life for Great Men in a Nation, and three for the People.

The Conditions of Life most proper for a Gentleman to enter into, are either the Clergy, the Law, or the Army. A Community cannot subsist without fit Persons to supply these Professions: And the World

has experienced, that a Man may be happy in any of them; notwithstanding that each labours under peculiar Difficulties, as well as bestows great Honours and Benefits. An Ecclesiastick Life is the most sweet and serene, tho' more restrained. The Lawyers are the surest to get Money; but the Study is laborious and too particular, and not of that extensive Service as to furnish the Mind with such Qualities as are necessary for its due Formation. Therefore I conclude, that the Military Employment is the most proper for Persons of Quality, which, tho' it must be own'd to be the most fatiguing and hazardous, yet it rewards these Inconveniences with the Glory which attends their brave Exploits. By this, Monarchs and Heroes have made themselves so fam'd in History; all the Nobility and Gentry derive their Quality from Ancestors, who acquired it this way; and I know no Service they can do their Country which is more Honourable. We easily perceive, at this time, what Esteem all Princes and States have for good Soldiers; and that, in most places, the Greatest Offices are retrench'd, on purpose to remove the Persons, lost in such needless Employments, to the more necessary Commissions in the Army; and the Gentlemen of the Sword, as a Reward of their Service, are preferred to the most Eminent Dignities in the State. 'Tis as necessary for a Gentleman to be acquainted with the Art of War,

as 'tis for an Architect to understand Building.

The three ways of living, proper for People of meaner Rank, are, that of a Labourer, or Husbandman, who by his Industry furnishes the Country with the most necessary Goods: The Artisti who serves his Country with his Skill; and the Merchant, who enriches it, by vending abroad the Surplusage of their own Commodities, that is, such as they have no need of; and by importing, in lieu thereof, such others as they have occasion for; besides, they facilitate the Exchange of Commodities between the Subjects themselves.

It is necessary, for the Publick Good, that these three Professions be encouraged: but in my Opinion, the first, that is, the Labour of the Husbandman in the Tillage of the Ground, and the other Industrious Trades which are of affinity to it, seem the most necessary; next the Manufactures; but the most proper of all to enrich the Nation, and make ones Fortune is Merchandizing, to which the other two are subservient.

'Tis Prudence to weigh well what Profession a Man's Genius directs him to. Before you fix, you should time your Choice well, and be well advised before-hand, if you intend and advance your self. When you have once chosen, never think of changing, but be constant in the same Opinion, that what you have undertaken, is the most useful and convenient; but no wise Man will
spend

spend too much time in forming his Resolution ; and 'tis as fickle and weak to recede when you have once embraced it.

M A X I M III.

Reason and Experience have convinced all Politicians, that Religion is the most powerful Motive of humane Actions, the firmest Foundation of a State, and the sacred Tye which most strongly cements the Members of the Society. 'Tis grounded on the Light of Nature, that there is a just God, to whom Adoration is due : In this consists the first Duty of a reasonable Creature, from whence I infer, that the Fear of God, is the Principle of Divine and Humane Wisdom.

By this Sovereigns find themselves under a Necessity to do Justice to their Subjects, as knowing an Account must be given to the King of Kings, who will severely punish the Abuse of that Authority he reposed in them.

Potentes potenter Tormenta patientur.

Their Eminent Station will be so far from sheltring them from the Divine Wrath, that their Punishments will be increased, in proportion to the Extent of the Power they mismanaged.

Nor is it of less use to retain Subjects in their Duty, and a regular Observance of the Laws prescribed them ; for Man, who is naturally free and aspiring, would not tamely submit to a superior Power.

Power and their Commands, if Religion did not convince them that the Authority of their Governours was derived from above, who gives the Scepter to Princes and Sanction to their Laws, and punishes those who contemn and violate them.

Politicians know very well, that nothing makes a stronger Impression upon Men's Minds, than Zeal for Religion; it emboldens Men to enterprize any thing, without a thought that the Interest of God ought to take place of the Interest either of our selves or others.

REFLEXION.

The first Duty of a Gentleman is to discharge himself to the utmost of his Power, of what he owes to his Creator. The Prospect of the glorious Reward in another World, and his Blessings here, are powerful Allurements. For all Mankind, if they saw a Man void of the Fear of God, and that he were not sincerely convinced of the Truths of Religion, would avoid having any Dealings with him; for who would repose Confidence in a Person whom we looked upon to have neither Honour nor Conscience: And indeed, he that is unfaithful to his God, can never be true to Men.

Besides, one would be afraid to contract a Friendship with a Man whom we thought were Odious in the sight of God, and continually Obnoxious to his Almighty Vengeance

geance; who bears about with him a Curse on whatever he undertakes. For the same Reason, a Prince would not advance such a Person to any Charge, who has no solid Principle to square his Behaviour by, or oblige him to Fidelity. All good Men think it their Duty to prosecute an Atheist, who bids Defiance to Heaven; for the Love we owe our Neighbour engages us to bear an Aversion to all Crimes, and to endeavour their Extinction.

'Tis a noble and useful Maxim, That Religion should not be confined to our private Retirements, but should shew it self in our Conversation with others, that our Inferiours may be influenced by our Example, to the same Dispositions. A Gentleman should be as zealous of his Credit in the World, as a Young Lady of her Honour, the least stain upon which undoes her, and a Blot once laid on a Man's Character, or a Woman's Chastity, is scarce ever wiped off; 'tis not sufficient to be Religious in private, if we do not take discreet Care to let the World know it.

A Courtesan once known to be such, seldom recovers her good Name. For tho' afterwards she lead a very vertuous Life, every Body will interpret the Change to be only for a Mask to screen her Wickedness from the publick View, and a Trick to regain some Credit with the World; that her pretended Service is unworthy of God's Acceptance,

eptance proceeding from a fair Outside indeed, but from a polluted Heart; and that she is watchful of her outward Behaviour out of design only, because she would avoid that universal Contempt, such Practices justly meet with; but such Endeavours succeed but indifferently, where they begin not with Religion at first; especially if it be not conspicuous throughout their whole Lives and Conversations.

Therefore Gentlemen should speak of the Clergy and Holy Things with great Veneration, and not break Jest upon them. He that respects and reveres the Servants of Heaven, and Divine Things, respects and reveres that God, to whom they are devoted. And 'tis too true, that many Great Families may date their Ruin from their profane reviling of Religion and its Ordinances.

M A X I M IV.

Next to his Duty towards God, a Prince's Care must be to discharge his Duty to his People; to administer Justice with an impartial Hand; 'tis the Subjects Duty, to be exact in their Obedience. If Justice be deny'd, he ceases to be a King, or Father of his Country, and becomes a cruel, infamous Tyrant. A Sovereign should display his Bounty and Clemency, upon all Occasions. These Virtues are the most Illustrious, Free, and Gracious; but Justice is what they are
ob-

oblig'd to perform in Duty. For this reason, the Title of Just is the most Glorious a Prince can aspire to, and more Honourable than that of Powerful, or Conqueror.

Nor can a Monarch discharge his Conscience by doing Justice in his own Person, only his Duty is more extensive; a narrow Inspection must be made into the Administration of the Ministers under him; such as are faulty must be punish'd rigorously, without distinction of Persons. A King must observe an impartial Distribution of Rewards and Punishments; deserving Persons should receive distinguishing Favours, and Criminals great Severity inflicted on them: This is a lively Image of the Divine Government, whose Vicegerents they are; who has allotted Hell for the Portion of the Wicked, and Heaven as a Recompence for Good Men. 'Twas this made Solomon, the wisest of Princes, say, Clementiâ & Justitiâ roboratur Thronus Regum, Justice and Mercy are the Supports of a Throne. The Arabians have a Saying, that, A Prince without Justice, is like a River without Water in it.

R E F L E X I O N.

Justice is the most necessary of all Virtues, as well to private Persons, as Monarchs; and a Man that is not exact in his Performance of it, is a Wicked Person and a Tyrant; and to be as bad as a Tyrannical Prince, wants nothing but the same Extent of Power; the Disposition is the same, that is, to wrong any
body

body when Opportunity offers. This *Maxim* should be written upon his Heart, *To do Wrong to no Man*; if he has a mind to live like his Quality, and not yield to that vain Fancy; that because a Person of an Estate has more Authority than others, he is privileg'd to do whatever his Humour leads him to, without a Thought of Equity or Conscience; which should be the Rule of all his Actions.

All Persons, that have the Command of others, should be very zealous to do Justice, and suffer no Criminal to escape from the Punishment due to his Crimes; 'tis the Dread of that which deters Ill Men from Vice, as Impunity emboldens and hardens them in Wickedness. To confer Rewards suitably, and bear a heavy hand upon Offenders, are two infallible Means to Govern rightly and happily; 'tis to imitate the Almighty, who uses Heaven and Hell, for Arguments to lead Men to Virtue.

M A X I M V.

The Counsels of a Prince should aim chiefly at Justice; to administer it duely, and raise his Reputation by a discreet Government, he should select Counsellors that are, first, Wise, Experienced, and Circumspect; not to suffer themselves to be impos'd upon. Secondly, Men of Virtue and Reserve, fit to be intrusted with the Secrets of a State. Thirdly, Well-affected, and Disinterested
Per.

Persons, not bias'd by the Prospect of Private Gain, so as to neglect the Business of their King or Country; which is indeed their true Interest, as Members of the Society. Lastly, they must be such as are acceptable to the People; for fear, lest disgusting them by a Ministry they are averse to, they incline to a Revolt: For the same Cause, they must not be of the Highest Rank, to avoid the Suspicions which their great Power may produce; nor of the Lowest Degree, to shun Envy and Contempt, which reflects Dishonour upon their Master.

If the State be large and powerful, several Councils are necessary; and a Council of State, which we call the Privy Council, must be establish'd, to inspect, and issue Directions to the rest; tho' at the same time, a Monarch should not disdain to receive wholesom Advice, let it come from the meanest of his Subjects.

R E F L E X I O N.

There is no Gentleman so wise and clear-sighted, as never to have occasion for the Advice of his Parents, Friends, and even sometimes of his Officers, if his Quality and Estate be great enough to allow of such; by this means they profit themselves by the sage Counsels of all such as are interested in their Concerns; and their Assistance will give Life and Success to all the Projects they advise him to undertake. When a Man is so prudent as not to rely wholly on his own Head,
but

but seeks the Opinions of others; if in that case, by ill Forutne, he miscarries in his Enterprize, his having consulted more Heads than his own, before the Business was undertaken, is a sufficient and honourable Excuse. A wise Governour, in what concerns the Tutorage of a Young Gentleman, and all Learned Men, tho' they are dictating to others, scruple not to receive Information themselves; and they stand in as much need of it, in proportion, as a Prince does of the Opinions of his Ministers of State, to procure the Happiness of his Subjects, and ease him partly of the Burthen of the Administration.

The Qualifications requisite to a good Privy Counsellor, are necessary likewise to a good Governour, and especially to any that are of Counsel to Great Men; and in general, we should look for them in all such as we consult with.

M A X I M VI.

As the Aim of all particular Societies is the general Welfare of the whole, which neither Prince nor People can ever compass, but by taking care to abound in all such Goods as make the Possessors of them happy; 'tis one of the most indispensable Maxims of a Sovereign, to enrich his Country, and make his People flourish, under a safe and plentiful Enjoyment of all things necessary and convenient.

The Wealth of a State is either Natural, which is acquir'd by Agriculture; that makes the Soil

C

pro-

produce all the sorts of Goods and Manufactures, that furnish us with the other Conveniencies of Life; whereof we shall treat hereafter, in explaining how conducive they are to the Increase of a State: or Artificial, which we shall here name the Finances; these are necessary both to Prince and People to obtain Success in all their Enterprizes. The Scripture tells us, that every thing is sway'd by the Power of Money: By which a Sovereign may know, that there is no Obedience to be had, if he be destitute of that puissant Instrument, which God has put into his hands for the Support of his Majesty, and the more speedy and easy Discharge of the other Duties incumbent on Sovereigns. When a Monarch employs the Gifts of Heaven aright, we see the Wicked punish'd, Deserving Persons rewarded, Churches built and adorn'd, the Poor reliev'd, and Officers duly paid: This sustains the Grandeur of the Nation, and the Prince who presides over it; and this enables him to wage War with his Enemies; in a word, it gives Life and Success to whatever the King takes in hand; so that Riches ought to be look'd on as the Vitals of Power. Cæsar understood so well what could be effected by the Influence of Money, that he attempted nothing against the Liberty of the Commonwealth, till he had made himself Master of the Publick Treasury. But we need not seek so far for Instances, the present Age gives us a View of what our selves and Neighbours can do by dint of Gold and Silver; not to mention the Improvements a prudent circumspect Prince may make of his Revenue, by the choice of Officers that are fair
and

and honest; and by Taxes, which, without breach of Justice, may be impos'd when emergent Necessity requires. I should add here, that a Monarch should hoard up a Treasure, to which he may have recourse in any troublesome Conjuncture; as in time of War, Famine, or any other Pubick Calamity; as also when any Extraordinary Occasion demands a greater Expence than the ordinary Revenue will bear.

R E F L E X I O N.

'Tis as natural for a Man to desire Riches, as to desire Life, and not only such as are barely necessary, but as much as may afford us to live agreeably; for Experience informs us, that we cannot engage our selves in any Business, nor acquit our selves worthily of our Profession, if we want a Stock suitable to our Condition. Money is the *Primum Mobile*, the chief Spring that sets all our Projects forward, the Means to accomplish what our Ambition aims at, the Substance we live upon, and the most trusty Friend in Necessity; in a word, the very Sinews and Vitals of Worldly Felicity. So that we may conclude, that a Gentleman should study all the Methods of gaining Wealth, that are within the Bounds of Honour and Conscience: For a Person of Quality without it, is like a Body without a Soul to actuate it, the Day without a Sun to enlighten it, or an Heart without Love.

When Cardinal Mazarin's Father sent him to *France* to advance his Fortune, he summ'd up his Advice in these Words, *Figlioli mi, falli Denario dogui maniera*; he counsell'd him to have a special Regard to getting an Estate. The same Consideration should prevail with Private Persons to lay up a Sum of Money in Plentiful Times, when it can best be saved out of their Incomes, to be a ready Help when Fortune is less favourable: As a Prince never breaks his Reserve of Treasure, but to finish at one Stroke some great Enterprize, or avoid some threatening Danger; no more should they meddle with what they held so Sacred, but upon the like emergent Occasions.

M A X I M VII.

The Passions of Mankind are so irregular and unjust ever since Adam's Revolt from his Obedience poison'd our Nature, that his Posterity perpetually quarrel and contend to tear the Commodities and Goods of Life, together with the Liberty they enjoy, from each other. Therefore it is not sufficient that a State be stored with all sorts of Riches, if it want Force to defend them against the Invasion of the Neighbouring Powers, and to keep in subjection to the Laws the Members of the Society it governs, to protect them from foreign Violence, and secure the deserving Subjects from the Insults of all Aggressors. My Opinion therefore is, that a Sovereign must do more than fortify his Provinces, especially the Frontiers.

Frontiers. He must be perpetually armed both by Sea and Land; to shelter the Rich, punish Offenders, give Vigour to the Laws, and Magistracy that put them in Execution; to maintain their Alliances, conquer their Enemies, pursue their just Pretensions, revenge Wrongs done them; to maintain their Authority at home, and spread the Fame abroad of their glorious Achievements; for according to the Constable Montmorency's Device,

Arma tenenti omnia dat qui iusta negat.

When we are in a Condition to do our selves Justice, few will dare to wrong us.

'Tis a Maxim in all Kingdoms and States of Europe, Never to be unarm'd; and the French have always inviolably maintain'd it; for which they give these reasons; first Because their Kingdom abounds in Nobles, whose Profession is War; or rather because 'tis a Monarchy composed of Soldiers, who having advanced themselves by War, must be preserved and increased by the same means. Secondly, Because 'tis situated between the Germans, the Spaniards, the English, and the Italians, who are formidable Neighbours, and might disturb its Peace and invade their Country, if they were sensible of its being unprovided for Defence. Thirdly, 'Tis a great Advantage to a Prince to be ready armed, in order to pursue his Pretension to any Country, which he may acquire a right too, by the unexpected

pected Death of a Kinsman, or some other Casualty. By this means they have made themselves respected and feared by the neighbouring Princes; and their Success, from this Maxim, has embolden'd their present Lewis IV. to grasp at the Dominions of his Neighbours, and to assume to himself that haughty Epithet,

Non erit Pluribus Impar.

*That He is a Match for many.
And the same reason makes me conclude,*

Melius est Populo Gallo, sicut olim Romano,
Negotium quam Otium.

That Maxim of the Romans, to keep the People always employ'd, ought to be observed likewise among all other Nations. A Fourth Reason why War is necessary in France, is, the Revenues being very great, to diffuse the publick Treasury through the Kingdom. So all Bodies Politick may in this resemble the Constitution of our natural Bodies; the Treasure is first drawn out of the Subjects Purses, descends again from the King to them, and returns at last to the King again; like the Blood which maintains the natural Life of the Heart, by a Passage through the Arteries, and circulates thither again by the Veins.

R E F L E X I O N.

'Tis the same with the Nobility; whose Honour being derived from Military Achievements,

ments, they should never abandon that Profession, it being their proper Business, and the most Glorious Exercise they can chuse; nor degenerate from the Bravery of their Ancestors.

'Tis also the most promising way to Advancement, as to the Command of an Army, the Government of a Province or Town, which are the just Recompences of noble Actions, the establishing of true Nobility, and the means to eternize our Fame to Posterity.

I must own this way of Life is Fatiguing and Hazardous; but these Disadvantages are overbalanc'd by the Glory acquired in it. To die in quest of the greatest Preferments in the State, is to die in the way of our Duty to God and our Country; 'tis to expire in the Bed of Honour, in the Field of Renown; like the great *Gustavus* at *Zutfen*, where his Tomb was laden with Trophies, like a *Chevalier Baird*, a *Scanderbeg*, Duke of *Beaufort* in *Candy*, a *Tromp* or an *Obdam* at Sea, or to say yet more, a Duke of *Longueville* in the *Hotan*, or a *Turenne* upon the Banks of the *Rhine*.

None but sluggish Country Gentlemen, who degenerate from the Glory of their Ancestors, make it their choice to dream away their Lives upon whimsical Pleasures; that employ themselves in no Business but chasing wild Beasts in Forests, or the like: or your Effeminate Sparks, who cannot find in their Hearts to leave their Wives, nor

forfake their own Dunghil, who can despise this Profession? All States are too full of these sham Heroes, whose narrow covetous Souls incline 'em rather to tyrannize over their Vassals, to improve their Farms, to build fine Seats, to plant their Gardens, and heap up Gold and Silver, let the means of getting it be never so Unfair and Oppressive; than to aspire to true Honour, by serving in the Army.

No, no, the Character of a true Gentleman is not a Benefice without a Charge; it obliges such as are truly Noble, to hazard their Lives for the Glory of their Prince, and the Safety of their Country.

A Country Spark may please himself with the Noise of his Hounds, but Drums and Trumpets yield more agreeable Musick to such as have a taste of solid Honour. Is it not more Glorious to take Towns and Fortresses, than to take Deer or Hares? to chase your Enemies, than Bears or Wolves. These finical Gentlemen place their greatest Pride in the Fruit of their Gardens, or the Flowers in the Parterres; but they appear not so sweet or stately, nor taste so well, in the Opinion of a Man that covets Honour and Triumph. All the pleasure, the fine Canals or Fountains can entertain the Eye with, wants Charms sufficient to interrupt him in his Endeavours after Renown, or tempt him slothfully to abandon the Profession which God and his Honour invite him to.

M A X.

M A X I M VIII.

As the whole World is but one general Society, and the Life of Men consists in their mutual Commerce with each other : The Sovereign, whom God has advanced to the Throne, ought to cherish mutual Correspondence with other States : This is performed by Embassadors, whose Business is to represent the Person of their Prince, and treat for him with the same Power, as the Prince that sent them could, if he were actually present. The Duty of Agents and Embassadors is, to maintain the Grandeur of their Master and Country, to congratulate a Prince upon his happy Accession to the Crown, or any other Prosperity ; to condole the Death of their Relations ; sometimes offering him Assistance ; managing all cunningly, for the Honour and Interest of his Master ; to protect those of his own Nation at the Court where he resides ; to compose petty Differences, which happen often between Neighbouring Princes, who perhaps, without their Interposing, might engage in a bloody War.

Add to this, that an Embassador should never fail to give his Master Intelligence, of all that passes in the Neighbouring Countries, that he may suit his Measures according to their Conduct, and if they arm that he may not be surprized.

An Embassador should be Sage, Experienced, Faithful and Discreet, Liberal and Magnificent, Circumspect, Agreeable and Intriguing.

R E F L E X I O N.

This Maxim instructs a Gentleman not to live beneath the Quality he was born to; he should discover it by Decency in his Cloaths, a magnificent Equipage, &c. He should visit Men of Worth to make himself known, caress every Body with a suitable Complaisance. He must have his Interest in view in all Companies, make them his Friends by doing them good Offices, and never want such as will espouse his Interests, and compose his Differences.

M A X I M IX.

The Negotiations of Embassadors would be in some measure useless to the Princes they serve, if they were not followed with Treaties of Peace, which put a Conclusion to destructive Wars, and forming Alliances to assist each other, and make Head together against such formidable Powers, as might be in a Condition to enter the Lists with them all.

Persons employed to treat of an Alliance, of Peace, or of Commerce, should be Wise and Experienced, perfectly acquainted with the Interest of their Masters, and that of the Bordering States, that he may be able to foresee all Changes that may happen. And as the Zeal every Prince has for his own Country, may tempt him to over-reach his Neighbouring Mediators, in such important Affairs, he cannot be too wary.

R E-

R E F L E X I O N

The Treaties or Bargains which a Gentleman has occasion to make, should be managed with a great deal of Prudence, for an unfortunate Marriage, a burthensome Charge, a dangerous Law-Suit, a Debt contracted unseasonably. These are all Difficulties which may quash the Scheme we may have proposed to our selves to raise our Fortune by, and deprive us of the Sweetness of Life. We ought to look upon every Body we have Dealings with, as preferring their own Interest, tho' to the prejudice of ours. Therefore Men must be always upon their Guard, and be cautious of all the World, that they may be gulled and imposed upon by none.

M A X I M X.

This last Maxim and principal, for establishing a Government, obliges a Sovereign to enterpize nothing, nor enter into any Treaty, but for the Interest of the Publick, which is the Life and Motive of all sound Politicks, and naturally tends to the Felicity of the Society in general, in which all the Actions of a Prince should center.

The Duke of Rohan, in a small Treatise he wrote about the Interest of a Prince, assures us, that the Interest of the Publick should lead and control a Monarch, as much every whit, as his Commands do his People. Others
call

thers call Publick Good their Sphere of Activity, beyond which they must not act; there's much reason for it, Nature directs us all to seek what is Good; and as the Business of a private Man is to consult his own Advantage; so a Monarch's Care, who is a publick Person, should be to Benefit his Country, this Conduct justifies the Actions of a Sovereign: Therefore they should observe it as an inviolable Rule of Government. The Cui bono of the Ancients may be very fitly applied here; for we should, before we undertake anything, ask our selves this Question, What Good will issue from it?

REFLEXION.

A prudent Gentleman should do all things for the advantage of his Honour, whether it be to God or Man, having a regard, in all his Actions, to the Benefit that may accrue by them. He should therefore be guided by his Interest in the choice of Friends; that is, pitch upon such as may assist him to advance his Fortune. If a Minister of State prefers a Man, 'tis to make him his Creature, and bind him absolutely to his Devotion, even when he serves his Prince, he keeps in view the Recompence of his Labours.

When a young Gentleman studies, or performs his other Exercises, he should always consider what End they lead to, and what Benefit he is like to get by them.

Our Love to our Creator himself, is not required by him, without proposing to us the recompence of Eternal Happiness, and freedom from the dreadful Punishments of Hell. None but God is so Perfect, being all Fulness, as to act without Interest ; but the Heart of a Creature is finite and needy, and therefore must be constantly employed in a search after what will supply its Wants.

Only Fools and Madmen propose no Interest in Moral Actions, and forget what they act for. All Good attracts the Desire, so if Mankind moves naturally to what is Good ; it moves by Interest, and therefore no Man in his Wits can forbear regarding his own Advantage. From this comes that prudent Maxim,

Nothing for Nothing.

Do ut Des ; Facio ut Facias,

That is, if I give you any Thing, or do you any Service, I expect the like from you upon any equal Necessity.

C H A P. II.

Containing Five Maxims, necessary for the
Conservation of a State.

P R E F A C E.

PRUDENCE has not finish'd its Work, when a Government is establish'd, by the Ten Maxims we have just now explain'd: It must guide us likewise to the proper Means to preserve it; which we shall treat of in the next Chapter, of the Methods to aggrandize a State. In this likewise, the Prudence of a Sovereign imitates the Deity, who not only gives Being to the Creature, but preserves it, and bestows the necessary means to bring it to perfection.

To proceed methodically, to find out the Maxims necessary for this purpose, it is to be observ'd, that a Constitution may be soon dissolv'd, either by the mean Opinion Subjects may have of their Prince, when they find him too weak for the Reins of Government; or by the Hatred they may bear him for his Vices; or by Disobedience, when they see the Prince without Power sufficient to enforce the Observance of the Law; or by Discord, when the Leading-Men of the Realm split into Factions; or by the People's downright Rebellion against their Prince, or his Magistrates; or when a State rashly involves it self in War, which ends in being vanquish'd, and submitting
to

to a Victorious Enemy. As the Causes of the Ruin of a Government are Five, so this Chapter is divided in Five Maxims, to remedy these Five Diseases in the Body-Politick. The First treats of the Wisdom of a Monarch, to acquire the good Opinion of his Subjects. The Second consists of the Exercise of Royal Virtues, to win the Hearts of the Nation. The Third, in keeping up his Authority; which is necessary, to make them obey and fear him. The Fourth shews, how to cement the different Factions which compose the State, and secures its Peace at Home. And the Last paves the Way to a Lasting Peace from abroad; this makes the Subjects happy, living under a State which shelters them from their most pressing Adversaries.

Kings are the most lively Images of the Divinity, the KING of Kings, who governs the World; and a Monarch, in a Civil Life, represents God more than other Creatures: And I am of Opinion, that Earthly Powers, which are oblig'd to copy after that glorious Original more exactly than other Men, cannot come nearer it, than by acquiring these Five Qualities, which are necessary for the Preservation of their Crowns.

To be short: The Five Attributes we remark particularly in God, are, Unbounded Knowledge, which informs him of the Needs of all his Creatures; his unlimited Goodness, by which we receive what we have occasion for; his infinite Power, by which all things are subjected to him; his condescending

scending Love and Kindness, by which he unites Men together in a Society; and lastly, that Spirit of Peace and Serenity, which compleats the Happiness of Mankind. A Prince therefore, to conform himself to God, should acquire a prudent Policy, to come as near to his Wisdom and immense Knowledge, as the narrow Bounds of our Nature permits: He should be Virtuuous, to imitate his Goodness; maintain his Justice, to resemble his Power; be earnestly watchful, to preserve Union in the State, to copy his Charity; and lastly, he should cherish a lasting Peace with the adjoining Countries; if he intends to square his Government by the Example of the God of Peace, of whom he holds his Crown.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Person of Quality, under which I continue to explain the Politicks of all Private Gentlemen, should consider, that his Birth, which has rais'd him to a Pitch above other Men, engages him in a more particular manner, to imitate the Conduct of the Almighty, and the Sovereign he is subject to; to search after Knowledge, and to gain Esteem in the World; to be Religious, in order to win Love of every body; to maintain themselves in Credit and Authority, that they may receive due Respect: He must also preserve Unity in his Family and among his Friends, to have their Joint-Assistance on occasion; and lastly,

to

to live in perfect Peace with every body that can do him a good turn, or have it in their power to disturb the Calm of his Life, and extinguish his Hopes of *Rising*.

M A X I M I.

Of the W I S D O M of a S O V E R E I G N.

Many cogent Reasons oblige a Prince to seek Politick Wisdom, which they have so much occasion for, to enable them to reign happily over the People God has committed to their Charge.

In the first place, Wisdom is necessary, that they may in some measure participate of the Divine Perfection, who is a pure Intelligence, and is acquainted with the most minute Necessities of his Creatures, in order to their Relief. This is the ground of that Saying in the Divinity of the Heathens; that Jupiter always had Pallas, the Goddess of Wisdom, at his right Hand; to teach Kings, that Prudence and Wisdom should inseparable attend all their Actions, if they would Rule like Jove; that is, like Visible Gods: Aristotle upon this Subject says, that of all Men, he that Thinks much, resembles the Divinity most; whose Nature and Essence consists in Contemplation; that he lives not only like a Man, but as tho' he had a Spark of the Divinity in him. In this case, when prudence is the Guide of all

D they

they take in hand, we may justly stile them Gods upon Earth; and so the Scripture means by that Expression, *Ego dixi Dii estis*, I have said you are Gods.

Secondly, All Men are obliged in Conscience to understand their Profession, Providence willing that all Men should acquit themselves worthily in the Station they have embrac'd in the Commonwealth: A Sovereign, for the same Reason, should be a perfect Master of the Art of Government, to discharge with Honour their High Commission, and give Satisfaction to God and Man. Besides, they are the Pattern and Rule of the Deportment of Private Persons; and, as Pliny says in his *Panegyrick upon Trajan*, They are Publick Models, by which the Subjects ought to frame their Behaviour. Their Duty therefore engages them to get as much Light into the true Method of Governing, and to acquire any Knowledge which may be improving and assistant to that Glorious Work: A Sovereign, so endow'd, may, by his wise Conduct, be a living Instruction to his Subjects, to form all their Actions by the Pattern of his Royal Virtues. The Scripture insinuates this Maxim to Princes by this Expression, *Erudimini qui judicatis in terram*, Potentes enim potenter Tormenta patientur; as much as to say, Princes, consider the Consequence of the Charge you undertake, and labour after what is requisite to qualify your selves for a due Administration, that you may be an happy Example to your People; for the greater your Power, the more severe will be your Punishment, if abus'd. Third-

Thirdly, Supposing that Duty were left us to our free Choice, to seek Wisdom, or not; yet the Benefit and Pleasure it procures, the Evils and Dangers that are avoided by its Assistance, should allure a Monarch to search after it, as a Good no less conducive to their Felicity, than their Crown. The Pleasures which attend Wisdom and a well-discharg'd Conscience, the Satisfaction a King reaps from this Reflexion, That his Mind is as much above the Level of other Men, as his High Station; the Delight he has to find himself rescu'd from those Clouds of Error and Ignorance, in which meaner Men lose their Way: These Thoughts yield a most pure unmix'd Felicity: And as this Happiness consists in a Possession of Internal Goods, of such as are resident in the Mind, which is an Immortal Substance; these transporting Pleasures must be likewise Eternal. I own, that a Man of a brisk aspiring Temper, will find a Charm in having the Command of others: Yet I hope none will deny, that to have our Conscience approve of our Conduct in such a Command, that we have behav'd our selves skilfully and prudently, yields infinitely more Pleasure and Content than the outward Glory. Robert King of Naples, tho' no Stranger to what is so tempting in Dominion, being born a Sovereign, testified so great an Inclination to the Sciences, that comparing the inward Delight which each affords, gave his Opinion for Learning,

Dulciores sibi Literas Regno esse.

and this knowing Prince used to unbend his Mind from the Fatigues of publick Affairs, by the diversion of Study.

Fourthly, the Reputation of a Monarch, and the Safety of his Throne, obliges him to fence himself with the Bulwark, as I may call it, of Wisdom and Knowledge; for this is the only true way to escape the Contempt of his Subjects, which is generally a Forerunner of their Disobedience, and too often engages him in a War with the Bordering States. In short, the People once sensible of the Incapacity of their Prince, want no stronger Temptation to withdraw themselves from so feeble a Toke, and they go upon sure Ground, when they have to deal with a Prince that has not sufficient Force either to govern them, or revenge an Injury. Nor will his Neighbours slip so favourable an Opportunity to enlarge their Territories at the expence of his. They need not fear such an one for an Enemy, who wants Brains to defeat the Intrigues formed to ruine or humble him. A Man of a brisk Spirit, and Discretion enough to subject others to him, seems born to command. A Sovereign therefore that would be Master of his Subjects, and terrible to his Neighbours, should know how to reign. Midas is branded with eternal Infamy, by the Asses Ears the Fable has bestowed upon him, for his scandalous choice of Gold, and other Riches, rather than Wisdom. Solomon, on the contrary, will remain on Record, an excellent Pattern to succeeding Ages, for valuing Knowledge above the other tempting things left to his Choice. We see what a Sovereign may ex-

pect by a close Application to Wisdom, viz. the Glory of a Solomon; as on the contrary, a groveling mean Spirit, bears the reproach of a stupid Midas, for slighting the noblest Endowment humane Nature is capable of. Alphonfus the first King of Naples assures us, that if Discretion and good Sense were a vendible Commodity, a Prince should buy it, tho' at the Expence of the most precious Jewel of his Crown; and adds, that if he were impoverished by the Bargain, 'twere notwithstanding an honourable Purchase, and an act of Prudence. He often repeats this Expression, that a Prince without Learning, is an Ass of Gold, with a Crown upon his Head. It is a certain Truth, that all things depend upon Reputation, and the Opinion of the World; but particularly the Glory of a Prince, and the Preservation of the State. *Fama constant omnia.*

Fifthly, it is not enough to convince Sovereigns of the absolute Necessity they have for Learning, We must single out such Sciences as are the most Useful, and can be the worst spared. There is no Science which is not Ornamental and Improving to the Understanding, and will afford a great deal of Pleasure and Satisfaction; but a good Prince, looking upon all his Thought and Care to be devoted to the Affairs of the State, and the publick Good of his People; and besides the perpetual Hurry of their Business, not allowing them leisure to study all; 'tis expedient that such as are Tutors, or of Council to them, should, out of each, select what is most easy, that they may judge of it themselves, and draw from them the Advantages necessary

cessary to an happy Reign. 'Tis the Business only of the Professors of each respective Study, to dive to the very Bottom of them, while a Monarch attains Eloquence, by which they become Masters of themselves, and win the Hearts of all they have to do with. Lastly, they must give their most serious Application to the Study of Morals; the first part of which teaches the Knowledge of our selves, and the Art of commanding our Passions; the second regards the Government of a Family, and shows Kings and private Persons too, how to preserve Union in them: And the last unveils to the Bottom the Mysteries of Policy, which must guide him in the Government of his Subjects; nor must he neglect the Practick, and especially the Military, part of the Mathematicks, which are necessary for the management of a War, and which is incumbent on Kings, as Protectors of their Subjects.

But the Knowledge which is the least fatiguing to them, and most useful to form a compleat Politician, is the best Histories of Kingdoms, and Relations of Actions which may most resemble their own Circumstances. By this, without the disguise of Flattery, a true view may be had of the way of the World, the Manners and Customs of other Nations, the different Establishment of Governments, their Increase and their Period, together with the true Causes of the Growth and Dissolution of Empires.

However, an Excess in the best things, is dangerous; a King may be intemperate even in the quest of Learning; as when he neglects the Administration

Administration, to devote himself solely to the Study of Contemplative Sciences, which perhaps are more Entertaining to his Humour, but of no Service to the Common-wealth. 'Twas by that Temper, Alphonfus King of Arragon lost the Empire of Germany, which was offer'd him, and the Kingdom of Spain, which his Son Sancho, a Prince of a more high and active Temper than himself, disposessed him of; while his Father was immersed in the Contemplation of Celestial Bodies, and composing those Astronomical Tables, which go now by the Name of Alphonfus's Tables. A Curiosity of the same strain cost Atlas King of Mauritana his Crown, for another more vigilant than himself expelled him, while the speculative Monarch employed his time in Star-gazing. So James the first, King of England, by his Bookishness and Pedantry, dishonoured that Royalty which Queen Elizabeth procur'd for him. Saturn, the God of these Theoretick Gentlemen, is represented as dethroned by his Son Jupiter; the Moral of which is, that Princes should pass from Contemplation to Action; so that I am of Seneca's Mind, that there may be an Excess, even in the search of Learning. Sicuti cæterarum rerum, ita quoque Literarum intemperantia est.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Gentleman that consults his own Happiness, is no less necessitated to acquire Wisdom and Prudence, than the Monarch he

copies. He must take the same Course to endow himself with Divine Perfections, improve his Understanding to imitate the Prince, who is the visible Intelligence that governs him; be Sagacious and Wary, to advance himself to some share of the publick Affairs, and distinguish his Wisdom by his Councils. If he aim at very high Preferments, he should be qualify'd to discharge the greatest Offices of the State. If he would secure an universal Esteem, he must never discover any Indiscretion, not in the most inconsiderable Actions. Conscience enforces the study of Morals, to acquit himself worthily of his Profession, that he may deserve the Character of a Man of Probity in all Conditions of Life. Great Persons are set on high, to be an Example and a Light for their Inferiors to steer by. No Men can taste more solid Pleasure than what results from Wisdom and Prudence, which entertains and delights our own Minds, and is so Serviceable to others. To conclude, it is impossible to advance ones Fortune, or preserve what our Ancestors have left us, if we do not secure our selves from the Contempt of all such as have it in their Power to befriend us; or fail of that unstained Reputation, and remarkable Merit, which capacitates Men for the noblest Employments in the State. A Man thus qualified, has naturally a Sway over all that he surpasses in Briskness or Wisdom; for as Reason is the Foundation of our Dominion
over

over the other Creatures; so Wisdom, the Perfection of Reason, gives an equal Title to a Superiority over other Men. In short, a Person of Quality should be pictured with *Midas's* Asses Ears, if he aspires not with the utmost Application to the Reputation of a *Solomon*.

I have already said, and repeat it again, that there are several Species of Knowledge, which may be necessary to form the Mind of a Gentleman, but none of them are Dishonourable to him: But I will still press him earnestly to the study of Eloquence, to enable him to speak and write as becomes his Quality; to be very intent upon Morals, which tend to make him a good Man, a good Oeconomist, or prudent Master of his Family, and a good Citizen, or a useful Member of the Commonwealth. Lastly, I advise him, whatever Profession he uses, to make it his main, and almost sole Concern. If you are a Soldier, study the Military Art, that you may do the Duty of your Post with Credit and Honour, and in so doing, concur to the publick Happiness of your Country. Thus you observe the Dictates of Providence, which allots different Men, different Provinces in the Society, for the mutual Assistance of each other; but let your Profession be what it will, the Histories of former Ages, and the most select and faithful Accounts of Travels, contribute exceedingly to enrich the Mind, and furnish them with Experience by a discreet use of what

we find in them, that is applicable to our own Case.

M A X I M II.

Of the GOODNESS of a SOVEREIGN.

As the Will pursues the Directions of the Understanding, so the Goodness of a Prince flows naturally from his Wisdom, and ought to precede his Power; for no use should be made of that, but in case where Meekness is abused; in imitation of the Almighty, who styles himself, first, DEUS Optimus Maximus, the Most Good GOD, before that other Attribute of Most Powerful; the reason is, because he never levels his Avenging Justice against any but such ungrateful Wretches, who tho' incited to Virtue by his Preventing Grace, misuse his Indulgence. This is the Original of that Story among the Heathens, that Jupiter was unarm'd during the Golden Age; which notes the Innocency and Simplicity of those Times: that he did not fortify himself with his Thunder till the Iron Age, to chastize the Insolence of the Giants, who had the boldness to attempt the scaling Heaven itself, and destroying Jupiter:

*Fulmina, post ausos cœlum affectare gigantes,
Sumpta Jovi, primo tempore inermis erat.*

*Jove's Thunder from the Giants War took date,
Vengeance till then, no being had, nor Hate.*

This

This ingenious Fable is an Instruction to Monarchs, that tho' there are Occasions to use Severity, their Conduct must be such, as to incline them always to the Merciful Side: the Sword of Justice should never be unsheath'd, but upon Necessity; that is, either to defend the Commonwealth, or maintain their Authority.

*In the first place, Sovereigns should imitate the Almighty; to be so remark'd by their Virtue, and distribute their Favours with such Prudence, as to win their People's Love; this Method should be try'd, before Justice is let loose to terrify them into Obedience. The Almighty elevated one Man above another, with no other design, but that they should protect and shelter such as are under their Government; and made them Stewards, or Trustees of the Publick Good, only to diffuse what is committed to them thro' the hands of such, as need their Assistance: 'Tis their Duty, by God's Example, who makes the Sun to shine upon the Field of the Wicked, as well as of the Righteous; to be before-hand with their Subjects, by their Love and Generosity: And Jove's Example, whom the Heathen Religion represents as a Prince in all respects fit for Government, should learn them not to dart their Thunder against any but those who have surpass'd the Bounds of Royal Patience; punishing only such as violate his Laws, and would tumble him from the Throne, where God placed him. *Laesa patientia Principis, justè fit furor*; a Prince's Patience slighted, is with great reason turn'd into the utmost Severity. 'Tis a certain Maxim in Politicks, that, No Monarchy is more firm
and*

and stable, than where the Hearts of the People are by the Prince's Goodness secur'd for ever. *The happy Subjects of such a Sovereign are under no Apprehension of him, but for him, and are more dejected at the prospect of a Danger which threatens so good a Governor, than of any that hangs over their own heads.*

The second reason why a Prince should practice Royal Virtues, is, for the sake of that Pleasure and Content which he finds in himself, upon the Reflexion, that he has discharged his Honour; and put this Gloss upon his Memory, that he was a true Benefactor and Father of his Country. Private Persons, especially the Poor, are afraid of enduring Affliction, but a Prince should know no Fear, save lest his People suffer.

Strabo, Praising the King of Orchomenia, says, that an Orator perswades by his Eloquence; but a good Prince works upon the Heart of others by his Exemplary Virtues, and Favours, by which they bind the Affections of the Subjects absolutely to their Service. Monarchs have long Arms, which they extend to the very Extremity of their Kingdoms; but 'tis better for them to appear there in Mercy than Terror, to scatter their Benefits among them, than inflict Punishments on them.

The third reason why a Prince should be more exactly Virtuous than other Men, is, because of their Reputation, which they can never establish nor preserve, if they be not good Men: a Monarch void of Justice, and other Virtues, is no Monarch; for 'tis Essential to Sovereignty to be

Just;

Just; Thus the Arabs tell you, that 'Tis as Monstrous a Sight, and as repugnant to Sense, to see a Prince without Virtue and Equity, as to see a River without Water. And Solomon says, Clementia & Justitia roboratur Thronus Regum. He lays the very Foundation of Royalty in Religion. A Prince without it ought not to be stiled Father of his Country, or Protector of the Common-wealth, he becomes an Infamous Tyrant, the most Scandalous Name, the Quality of a Prince can be Blotted with. A Sovereign is not Odious, nor to be despised for want of Power, because their Authority depends not always on themselves; but Goodness depends upon their own Free-will; and Vice, being the Effect of their own choice, renders them Detestable, both to God and Man. 'Tis from God all human Power is derived, and he who resists the one, oppose the other; yet he is too Just to shelter Offenders, or by the Commission he had bestowed, to Privilege them from the Calamities which pursue such Crimes; therefore he leaves them a prey to the Rage of incensed Subjects, who drive them from the Throne they had made themselves unworthy of; so that we see that the Safety of his Person as well as Preservation of the State, engages a Prince to lead a good Life; for the Almighty rarely suffers the Oppressors of Mankind to Reign long in their Oppression, such as your Nero's, Caligula's, and many others, who enjoyed no long Life, but were driven from the World, like Wasps or Vipers, the Common Nuisances of Mankind; Indignum Visum est Romanis

manis eum ferre Imperatorem, qui Deos sufferre non poterat. *The Noble Spirited Romans thought it a Dishonour to endure an Emperor who disowned his Maker.*

Fourthly, a Sovereign must consider his Duty, as he is set up for a Pattern to his People, who keep an observing Eye upon his Behaviour; the Hopes of Advancement, and the Dread of his Displeasure, has so powerful an influence upon them that they seldom fail of conforming themselves to the Princes Humour. Therefore if the Monarch be Virtuous, his Subjects value themselves upon their Virtue too. And if, by unhappy Fate, he proves a wicked Man, his Pernicious Example gives a Face of Authority to the Crimes of the People; and every Body, in hopes of his Favour, strive to outdo each other in Vice. His Piety ought to shine bright before his Subjects, to lead them to the Service of the Almighty. He should practise Justice, to bind them to an Observance of the Laws by his Example, and by giving them a Pattern of all sorts of Virtue, make 'em good Men, if ever he would have them be good Subjects. He should set before him the Precedent of Titus, surnamed, the Delight of Mankind, who grudged, and repented the Loss of a day, if he had done no in good it to some Person or other. King Agesilaus is a Famous instance of Virtue, who was Banished by the Ephori of Sparta, because his Goodness had Charmed the Hearts of of his Subjects. A Prince may view the Lives and Christian Deeds of King David, Solomon, and those Noble Heroes, who are deservedly
filed

stiled Fathers of their People, and remember the Love Moses bore the Israelites, tho' Perfidious, which was to that degree, that, He could chuse to be accursed to procure their Salvation; 'twas a Noble saying of Antisthenes, that It was Royal in a Man, and somewhat more than Human, to bear with Patience the Reproaches and Injuries done him by an ungrateful People, tho' it were at the very time that he were doing them some Signal Service.

The Fifth Reason, or rather the last Consideration we shall examine, relating to the Piety of a Prince, is, that he can never Offend by an Excess of Goodness, and there is no Precept of Religion, which is not necessary to good Government. Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex minimo defectu. A good Action must be so in all respects, but the least Defect makes an Action evil. They must be Prudent and Wise; Wisdom and Understanding are the very Lamp and Guide of Life. A Prince must be Temperate, and subdue any Inclination to Voluptuousness, that he may Reign more like a Cæsar, than a sensual Sardapalus; he must be brave to be the Tutelar Angel of the State; but the Virtues they have most occasion to practise, are Clemency, Liberality and Justice; the Reverse of which, Cruelty, Covetousness, and Tyrannical Oppression, are the Three Vices which make Sovereigns loathed by their Subjects, and generally ruins the State.

R E F L E X I O N.

'Tis so advantageous to the Gentry, to reign by Love in the Hearts of such as they have Business with; that they can never be too virtuous to secure their Affections. To be a Good Man, requires the Concurrence of all the several Parts of Piety; but a Miscarriage in the least Duty, makes a Man vicious: *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quolibet defectu.*

The Nobility, without the Assistance of Religion, can never support that Character which elevates them above the Rank of others: As their Quality derives its Source from Merit, so it must be preserv'd and increas'd by it: there is no other way to be amiable, either to God or Man. Virtue paves an easy Way to the greatest Preferments in the State, makes 'em agreeable to Inferiors, Equals and Superiors: In short, it gains the Favour of God and Man; it gives a sweet Relish to the innocent Pleasures of this Life; and when enlivened and perfected by Christianity, affords the ravishing Prospect of infinite Delights hereafter. *Nihil tutius bonâ Conscientiâ.* The Good Man enjoys a perpetual Calm in his Mind, he is conscious of nothing that can reproach him, he is secure from the Apprehension of Punishments; in a word, to be perfectly Virtuous, is to be perfectly Happy.

The

The Infamous Properties which disgrace the Quality, are no better than what we abhor in the meanest, and most wicked Scoundrels; their Crimes and Injustice degrade them from their Honour, and sometimes occasions the loss of Life itself; some Violent Death generally puts a Period to their Lawless Life: Sometimes we see them Assassinated, as a Judgment for their Oppression; sometimes they expire in the Heat of their Filth and Debauchery, by being more like a *Bacchus*, or a beastly *Sardanapalus*, than the heroick Example of a *Cesar*. *Necesse est jacere omnes Virtutes, Voluptate dominante*: Virtue is banish'd, when Luxury gains the Ascendant. The Guilty Person trembles at his Shadow, whereas a Just Man fears nothing; the Crimes of the one load his Mind with the Expectation of the approaching Vengeance; but the other fears no Punishment, because his Conscience acquits him. A Gentleman should do good to all the World; be before-hand with all Men he converses among, by Civilities and good Offices; by which he gains their Affection, and binds 'em to his Service: Like *Titus*, he should mourn the Loss of a Day, in which no favourable Occasion is offer'd of doing Good; 'tis by these Actions that he gains Friends. Like *Agésilas*, he should steal the Hearts of his Fellow-Citizens by the multitude of his good Deeds. To conclude then, a virtuous Man, and one that studies to

benefit his Generation, is belov'd by every body; and has so universal an Esteem, as makes him Master of their Hearts, gives him likewise the same Power, when he pleases to use it, over their Fortunes.

The Virtues necessary to compleat a Gentleman are, Prudence, which is the surest Guide and Instructor; Temperance, by which he triumphs over Sensuality; Valour, which raises him above the Fear of Death, and furnishes him with a firm Resolution, to surmount all the Hazards his Person is expos'd to, upon Glorious Enterprizes; and lastly, Justice, to give all Men their due, and by that Sacred Tye, maintain a firm Union in the Society. A Gentleman should keep in sight the Example of a great Man, who liv'd and dy'd without Scandal, or the least Blot upon his Name: *Vir quadratus, sine ituperio*, a Compleat Man, in all respect.

We shall conclude then, That 'tis a Noble Thing, for a Gentleman to sit in the Council of his Prince; to have the Character there of an able, zealous and faithful Minister; if he takes to the Army, to be the Father of the Soldiers; if in a Publick Charge, the Protector of the People; if in the Provinces, to be the Mediator between the Great Men, and an Arbitrator of their Differences; to be an Example of Chastity, Civility and Complaisance to the Ladies; in his Family, a dear Companion to his Wife, and a Monarch over his Children and Servants: in a word,
The

The greatest Renown a Gentleman can carry with him to his Grave; is, that he was so Religious towards God, so Just and Charitable to his Neighbour, that it may be said of him, that he finish'd his Course in doing his Duty, and his Life was employ'd in doing all the Good within the Verge of his Power: *Pertransit benefaciendo.*

M A X I M III.

Of the AUTHORITY and POWER
of SOVEREIGNS.

The Goodness of Kings would be slighted, if not supported by the Power God has given them to require the People's Obedience, and defended by the Sword of Justice, which God put in their Hands to awe and chastize such, whose Insolence and Hatred are unavoidable. For this Reason, a Prince must be zealous of his Authority, which shelters him from the Insults and Attempts of his Enemies, or his own Subjects; imitating thereby the Almighty, who employs his Power to subdue the most rebellious of his Creatures. No Sovereign has a lawful Authority but what is derived from Heaven, from whence they receive the Commission for the Government of Mankind. And when God has once bestowed it, and conveyed it to their Hands, either by Election or Succession; they are bound to conform themselves to the Commands of Providence, and preserve their Trust by all fair and

lawful means. The Scripture tells us, he that resists his lawful Sovereign, resists God who placed him in that eminent Station, and who is the Original Author both of Kings and Laws, for the Happiness of those under their Dominions.

As the Corruption of an excellent Thing is exceeding dangerous, so humane Power perverted from the End for which it was bestowed, is very terrible and of the most pernicious Consequence; and I see nothing in the Administration so Difficult as to govern with an even Hand; to exercise your Power over others with Moderation and discreet Forbearance. 'Tis not amiss then to fix upon these five Precepts as Directions to Princes.

The first is, to consider that God employs his Omnipotence only for the good of his Creatures; and for that reason, Sovereigns should never exert their Power, but for the Benefit of their Subjects, and the publick Good of the State: This is the very aim of all Monarchies, and the only Aim and Design a King, who pretends to rule with Justice, can propose to himself. 'Tis true, the People lie at the Princes Feet, at a great distance beneath their Dignity, and they know no Superior; yet that excuses them not from being responsible to Men for what they do; more especially to their own Conscience, and the supreme Power of the Universe, who will severely chastise the Abuse of the Trust reposed in them; there is no escaping his Wrath. If once they recede from this Province of attending to the Publick Good; they yield themselves wholly to the Dictates of their depraved Inclinations

clinations, and seek after Criminal Pleasures. To speak plain, a Prince is not advanced above his Fellow Creatures for any other Cause, but to be their Protector. If he fails to shelter his People from Injuries, the Character of Sovereignty is vanished, because he has neglected the very Cause of his Investiture.

The second Precept should put Kings in mind, that, admitting their Authority to be absolute, yet it is not infinite: They have no Licence to do what they please, but must submit as well as other Men to the Laws of Nature, and those which God has revealed; there is no Dispensation from an Observance of them. I may add, that they are strictly confined to maintain the Law of Nations, which is the rule of Right and Property between all civilized Societies, and the Foundation of the Laws of the State is laid in them, being the original Conventions between the Prince and his People, within the state of Nature, which he must observe if he would retain his Right to the Government of them, who subjected themselves upon such Terms, and which were as readily complied with, by the Person then destin'd for the Sovereignty. 'Tis a Tye yet somewhat stricter upon 'em, to keep their Faith and Word in all Treaties with their Neighbours, and with their Subjects: There being no Sin more detestable in the sight of Heaven, nor more abhorred by Mankind, then the Unfaithfulness of a Prince.

As to the Laws of the State; they being established by the Prince, he has a lawful Power to impose new ones, abrogate or alter the old, and even to

dispense with them as often as Equity and a good Conscience requires, However, tho' they be Masters of their own Devices, they cannot break thro' the Law of Nature, which derives its Sanction from a Power superior to their own, if they desire to live happily, and in the due Exercise of their great Charge : And although a Sovereign is not accountable to his People for his own private Reasons of dispensing with Civil Laws ; yet however Satisfaction must be given to their own Conscience, and especially to God, who is the Judge of such as are placed in that eminent Post.

Thirdly, a Sovereign's Authority is more or less extensive, according to the Laws of the Country they govern, There is no State in Europe where the Prince has a more absolute, tho' lawful Authority, then among us in England, nor is there any so Advantageous to the Subjects, whose good Fortune depends upon their Obedience to the best of Queens, as her Happiness does in the Preservation of the Power deposited to her Care. The Emperor in Germany has a more pompous Title, but an Authority of a narrower Compass over the Electors, and the greatest part of the other Members of the Empire, whose Sovereignty shadows his Power, and hinders them from paying a blind Obedience to his Orders, or being much awed by an Authority which is reduced so low by the Constitutions of the Empire.

Our most gracious Monarch pretends to be Mistress of her Subjects Lives, only to preserve and protect them ; and if she be obliged otherwise to
dispose

dispose of them, 'tis for the Publick Good; by sacrificing a part for the Benefit of the whole.

The fourth advises to a due Moderation of that natural Inclination, Ambition; which pushes a Prince forward to acquire immortal Fame; the reward of Conquest, by enlarging the Demains his Predecessors transmitted to him; but they must consider that Justice is due to their Neighbours as well as to their Subjects, and the Bounds of their Territories must not be extended beyond the Bounds of a good Conscience. This brings to my Mind that noble Answer of Pompey to the Parthian Embassadors, who pressed him to consider, that 'twas their own Interest to fix some Limits to the Roman Empire. He told them, neither Rivers, Lakes nor Mountains could stop the Progress of their Arms; nothing but Justice and Equity hinder'd them from over-running the whole World.

The largest States are not always the most happy, nor the most lasting: 'tis the common Fate of great Empires to sink beneath their own Weight, the vast Extent, like the condition of corpulent Persons, destroys their Vigour. In se magna ruunt; Witness, the fall of the Monarchies in former Ages, which split into several different Sovereignities, and the Weakness of Spain proceeds from the same Cause. Agesilaus, speaking of the King of Persia, says, that a Prince does not become greater by the Increase of his Territories, if his royal Virtues increase not in Proportion; that is, if he improves not at the same time in Wisdom, Piety, and Bravery; from whence I

infer, that a Monarch should not enlarge his Power farther than Prudence and Justice warrant him; and, like our victorious Sovereign, arm only to rescue Europe from threatned Chains, by preserving the Balance of Power among its Potentates, and to defend her own Honour, and the Interest of her Allies; as St. Austin instructs us, Pacem debet habere voluntas, Bellum Necessitas. War should be the Effect of Necessity only; but Peace should be a Prince's voluntary Choice.

The fifth and last Precept regards the support of that Power and Authority, which God, and the Laws of Man have given to Sovereigns. They must be so Jealous of it, as to venture it in the Hands of none other. Dominion is so alluring a Bait, that the principal Persons in the Nation, or such as have had a share in the Administration, would violate all the Laws of God and Man, to be encircled with a Diadem, if they thought it might be effected with Impunity. A Prince that disrobes himself of his Power, deserves to lose it; and he that entrusts the Sovereign Authority with a Subject is unworthy of it. For that Reason 'tis a standing Maxim, to humble such as come too near the Prince in Power, for who knows but the Ambition of mounting a Throne, may tempt them to the most enormous Crimes. An aspiring Soul is too sensible of Cæsar's Principle, which encourag'd him to crush the Roman Liberty, Si jus violandum est, Regnandi causa violandum est; If any thing could countenance the Breach of the Laws, he thought the Prospect of a Crown might.

R E-

R E F L E X I O N.

The Nobility, in imitation of the Monarch that governs them, should be ambitious to gain Credit and Authority over their Inferi-ors. They should keep up their Grandeur, and maintain the Quality they were by Providence born to, unless they'll be a Blot and Disgrace to their glorious Ancestors; as Kingly Power is given only to be exerted for the Benefit of Mankind, so the Credit, Power and Authority of a Gentleman, should be employed in the Protection of such as need their Assistance. The Sword he wears, is not to injure or molest any Person, nor to oppress their Dependents; 'tis never to be drawn but for his King and Countries Service, or for the Preservation of his Life or Honour. If his Misfortune be to maintain a point of Honour upon his own Account, Prudence obliges him to let the World know, that he had done all that his Reputation would permit, to avoid it; and that 'twas mere constraint to defend his Life or good Name, that made him lay his Hand upon his Sword: In this Case, every one would take his part, and condemn the Insolence and Rashness of his Adversary, who dared to stretch his Patience to that Extremity. 'Tis a certain Truth, *Laesia Patientia fit Furor*; Abused Meekness turns to the other Extreme. I dont mean this to encourage Quarrelling; for such Practices are

as

as Injurious to a Gentleman, that is upon the point of making his Fortune, as too frequent an Exercise of Severity is fatal to a Prince ; for according to St. *Austin's* Maxim just mentioned: *A Sovereign's Delight should be in Peace, and War a Forc'd-putt upon his Temper.* The same Reason teaches us, that a Cavalier should take pleasure in gaining Friends, and take care to avoid making Enemies, unless Necessity forces him to it, to repel an Injury.

He should likewise look upon himself, after the Example of good Kings, as much obliged to an Obedience to God's Laws, both Natural and Positive, in Cases where he might transgress them with Impunity, as if the Crime were committed in the Face of Justice. His Inclination should never countenance a vicious Motion : Reason, which should guide him in all his Actions, and the Honour he pretends to, engage him to do every thing out of an Equitable Principle, and to espouse no Party, unless in his Conscience he thinks it the most Reasonable. Nothing can more naturally make Virtue flourish, than the Example of the Nobility ; when they make a good Use of what God has blessed them with; it serves for a Model for meaner Persons to square their Behaviour by. In short, if all great Men and Gentlemen, would more exactly practise Virtue, Vice would become the distinguishing Mark of a Scoundrel ; it would be out of Fashion, and find but few Followers.

True

True Grandeur consists in being sincere to your word, and an inviolable Fidelity to your Promise; a Gentleman must be cautious how he engages his word to his disadvantage; but once passed, Honour and Conscience bind him to see it performed. Lying is the Property of a Slave or a Rake, which that way shelters himself from a discovery of some Villainy. A Man of Honour is always careful to speak the Truth; and for that reason they justly resent it as the greatest Affront imaginable, for any to give them the Lye. Impostures and Falshoods are two infallible tokens of the Malice and Wickedness of him that makes use of them, Treachery and Hollow-heartedness are Weapons that always rebound to the Confusion of him that is guilty of them.

The same Authority by which Kings Reign, obliges the Subject to an entire Obedience, according to the Maxim of *Tacitus*, *Summum rerum imperium penes Principem; subditis vero sola Imperii gloria relictæ est*. The Commanding part belongs solely to the Prince, and the Peoples Business with Publick Affairs is only to Obey. The Primitive Christians had a like Tenet, even in regard to the Persecuting Emperors, *Fugere aut Pati*, to fly or suffer; and God enjoins Submission to the Government, tho' in wicked hands, *Obedite Principibus etiam discolis*; Jesus Christ's own example teaches the same, who commanded Tribute to be paid even

to

to the Oppressor of the *Roman Liberty*, Give to *Cæsar what is Cæsar's*. A Gentleman therefore is in Honour and Conscience bound to pay a silent Obedience to the Kings Commands, and to submit without reserve to the Laws which are established for the Government of the Country. Lastly, he must raise himself above the Influence of his Passions, which precipitate Men into a Multitude of Crimes, if his Conscience do not restrain him even from the Vices which are sometimes connived at in a State; like a pious Monarch, who, tho' he has no Power to check him, scorns to indulge his Fancy in any unlawful request, or to pursue Wicked Pleasures, which God and his own Conscience should make him loath.

I shall conclude, that as 'tis not the Vastness of his Territories that makes a Prince truly great, no more does a large Estate, or a great Charge make them more Noble and Illustrious; Virtues and Bravery are the true Fountains of Honour; 'tis that which raises them, and makes them considerable above other Men; a Gentleman therefore may rest satisfied that he can never live happy in the World, nor bear any resemblance of God, or a Sovereign, who bears the Divine Image most remarkably, unless he acquires Wisdom, to gain Esteem, and to direct him in the course of his Life; unless he be Religious to procure Honour and Love
from

from every Body; and lastly gain Authority sufficient to preserve his Fortune.

M A X I M IV.

Treating of the UNION necessary to the Preservation of a STATE.

Our Natural Bodies Perish two ways, either by the Disorders which dissolve it; or by an external hurt which destroys it; in the same manner the Body Politick may be ruined, either by the division of the Members which compose it, or by being vanquished by a Foreign Power; this Maxim presents you with the proper Remedies for the first, and the next with the proper Expedients to preserve it by Peace, which secures us from any Apprehension of Danger from abroad.

Intestine Troubles, which ruin so many Governments, have their Rise either from a Conspiracy against the Sacred Person of the Prince, or Factions among the leading Men of the State, or the Seditions of the Populace, which is very troublesome, or lastly from a general Rebellion of the Subjects, which overthrows the Government. We must find a Cure for all these State Distempers.

The properest method to prevent the first, which is the most Pernicious and Detestable Crime a Subject, can commit, is, to retain them in a due Submission to your Authority, by the most powerful of all Motives, that is the Fear of God, which

which enforces them to obey their Sovereign who Reigns by his Commission, with a Reverence suitable to the Deputies of the Almighty, whose Injuries he will Revenge with Eternal Punishments, they are the Fathers of their Country, and anointed of God, as the Scripture stiles them; for that reason no Man can touch the Person of his Prince without being guilty of Parricide and Sacrilege it self; nor should the Prince do any thing to Exasperate them to such a desperate Attempt: he should avoid undertaking any thing which might put their Life, their Honour, Liberty or Religion in Hazard. For there's nothing a Man would not run the Risque of, for such dear things as these.

This Authority must not be reposed in any Man, but especially never in the hands of the chief Men of the Kingdom, nor your daring ambitious Persons; his Relations must be Treated with great Honour, but faithful Friends must be employed about them as Spies upon their Behaviour; the same Caution should be used to the Officers near his Person, particularly such as are concerned about his Meat or Drink, whom a powerful Bribe might tempt to a Crime hardly fit to Name; one might instance a Multitude of Examples of Miserable Disorders arising from neglects of this Nature.

But the safest way is to provide himself with a Guard of chosen Gentlemen, of approved Loyalty and Valour, and an enquiry should be made into their Lives and Conversations; they are of use to the Prince, not only to distinguish him by his Grandeur,

Grandeur, and infuse an Awe into the People; but also for the Security of his Person, and they cannot be too well rewarded.

The Disasters occasioned by the Divisions between the Houses of York, and Lancaster here in England the dismal Tragedies by the Contention between the Guelfes and Gibbelines in Italy; the Jealousies of the House of Guise against that of Bourbon in France, are sufficient Instances of the Mischiefs which proceeds from Factions among the Great; how Dangerous they are to a State, and how much their forming of Parties, which we see in almost all Courts, lessens the Authority of the Government, and disturbs the Repose of the Subject.

To stop this fatal Calamity in it's Birth, a Prince must interpose as a Mediator, and settle the Pretentions, Prebeminences and Dignities of each Party, the usual Sources of these Contests; 'tis convenient likewise to separate them if there be any danger of thwarting each other in their Ministry; and in a word, he should teach them to stand in awe of his Justice, and make them submit to it, like others of their Fellow Subjects. If a Faction be grown to a great height, or already broke out into Flames in the State, the Juster side must be assisted and the other ruined, and afterwards that which had been Triumphant should be humbled in its turn.

The Sedition of the People against the Magistrates and the Established Laws of the Country, ordinarily proceeds from the Indiscretion of the Ministers, and Officers of a Prince, or from
the

the Imposition of Taxes, which a Sovereign is necessitated to do, to supply the pressing occasion of the State.

He should make choice of Prudent Ministers, and such as are pleasing to the People, to govern to their Satisfaction; such as suffer themselves to be corrupted in the discharge of their business as to the Revenue, should be severely punished. A Prince should dispose of it only for the Interest and Happiness of the Kingdom, and when he demands extraordinary Supplies, he should inform them of the Reason of it, and to make them go down the better, promise to release the Subsidy, when the Necessity of the State no longer required it.

The Officers employed about the Revenue, should be Men of known Probity, and the Money exacted, should be collected with Moderation and Patience; in a Word, to avoid raising ill Blood in the People: The Collection may take a little at a time, but the Demand must be oftner made, and in as sweet winning a manner as possible.

If a stubborn murmuring People seek to withdraw themselves from the Verge of the Law, by sly Evasions, or otherwise mildly corrected; it is not therefore always convenient to introduce a Reformation in the State by new Laws, unless you are sure they'll go down with the People, and that they'll be of Advantage to the Publick. The same Consideration moves a Prince to tolerate some Defects in the Law, rather than alienate the Affections of the Subjects, who are averse to any Change or Reformation in the State, which is not squared exactly

actly to the humor. *Omnis Mutatio habet aliquid ex iniquo. There is no Innovation without some Inconvenience.*

The Frequency of rebellions in all States, gives Politicians all the reason in the World, to dread the Monster with an hundred Heads, that is, a giddy discontented People; 'tis an harder Task to guide an Head strong humorous Gang of that Nature, than the most dangerous intractable Monster Africk ever produc'd. They are perpetually censuring the Conduct of their Princes or Governors, always complaining, and fixing a wrong Construction upon what they undertake; which Interpretation, by the course of their Politicks, never is to the Advantage of the Government. They doat upon Innovations, whirl about with any Bait or new-broached Whimsey, and they that have done 'em the most Service, are the most likely to be abused; they are full of Envy, Suspicion, and Impudence; forgetful of the Benefits they have received, and revengeful of the Wrongs done them; nay. Sometimes, if the Fancy works, of the Wrongs done to others. Void of any regard to the true interest of the Publick, and, to finish their Pourtraiture, Insolent in Peace and Plenty; which with a generous and grateful Mind, is the most powerful motive, to rest contented under that Auspicious Government which procured those Blessings.

To guide so great a Body, and compose one's Temper to such various disagreeing Sentiments, as a Nation is Clogged with, a thorough View

must be taken of them. We shall consider the Community as consisting of Three sorts of Persons, First, the Rich, and those in Authority. 2. Such as are miserably Poor, and stand in need of every thing; and 3. A middle sort between them both; these last are governed with least difficulty, being Strangers to Ambition, and the Smart of Necessity, which Circumstances are the most powerful Temptations to the Respective Parties, driving them on to the most execrable Attempts.

The Renown, the Alliances, and the Riches of the Great, make them Intractable, Disobedient, and sometimes Insupportable: for their Pride, and Presumption on their Power, supplies them with hardiness to aspire to any thing; on the other side, Indigence drives the Scum to pin themselves upon any Party against the Government, in hopes of bettering their Fortune by a Change in the State, and to have an Opportunity of Plundering all such, whose Wealth serves for an Accusation, and Cheating and Spite appears in all their Actions. Some Princes of Barbary, trampling upon the Respect due to their Relations, or the Grandees of the Country, inhumanly Murder them, poison them, and sometimes put out their Eyes, to deprive them of the Power of Attempting any thing against their Authority; but Christian Princes behave themselves more honourably to them, caress them and give them all the Respect due to their Quality; yet at the same time must avoid the Inconveniences so much feared by these Cruel Princes; for they are as cautious as the other how they intrust them

them with the Authority, or Forces of the State, which would put it in their Power to form Parties against the Government. By such discreet Management they keep it out of the reach of such Powerful Persons, to attempt any Commotion, and their winning Carriage leaves them without a Desire to do it.

The Princes of the Blood, and the Nobility are the very Nerves and Bones of the State, the most solid Foundation it rests upon; insomuch that a Government which wants such Supports, is exposed as a Prey upon the first loss of a Battel; for there being none of sufficient Authority to rally the Broken Forces, the People finding themselves without a Leader, and knowing no way to stave off the Danger, are glad, after the first Shock, to submit to the Victor. On the contrary, a Nation powerful in Nobles, makes Head again, and extricates it self from the greatest Emergency. Thus Persia, by its Quality sustained the Attacks of the Turks and Tartars, which would otherwise have subdued that Empire, 'Tis a Maxim therefore that becomes none but a Tyrant, 'tis contrary to true Policy to cut off, without just Cause, the Grandees of the State; for tho' they are strong enough to raise a Disturbance, yet the Prudence of a Prince may prevent it, by winning their Love, and keeping them in Subjection.

If you'll follow the Counsel which Charles the Fifth gave to Philip the Second, the best way for Princes to profit themselves by the Great, is to retain them near their Person, in the most honourable Posts, and those of lesser Dignity should be

conferred on Quality of a lower Rank, or Gentlemen that are not born Great, and who would return to their pristine State, if the King's Countenance did not support them.

'Tis of no small Use to avoid the treasonable Practices which ruine a Constitution; never to venture the Command of an Army, or of the Provinces to Men that are either too Daring, or too Weak. And 'tis always dangerous to continue the Possession of such important Charges to one single Person, much more to make them Hereditary in the Family; nor is it safe to commit the Government to Gentlemen that are of the Country; for in these Cases, the Governours are inclinable enough to aspire to Sovereignty. This has happen'd formerly in France, and we see the Effect of it in Germany; and I cannot but commend the wise Method of the Spaniards who make their Governments triennial, their Garrisons independent of the Governours, which are inspected by the Kings Lieutenants, and over all are the Intendants of the Provinces, and other faithful Persons that keep an Eye upon them, which we call the Persons of the King.

To prevent Danger from the needy part of the People, who never fail to muster under the first Leader of a Revolt they can meet with, to change their Condition, and endeavour, amidst the Confusion and Violence, to recover themselves from Misery: Care must be taken, not to bring them to Despair by too Burthensome Taxes, the most common Cause of such Revolts, which sometimes involves those of a middle Station in the same Crime.

Crime. Their Necessity may be relieved, by employing them to till the Ground, and in Manufactures. Lastly, if Idleness makes them too Wanton or Stubborn to be ruled, but that they must needs controul their Superiors, and withdraw themselves from their Obedience; 'Tis convenient to busy them in a foreign War: The constant Practice of the Romans and French, to disembogue the State of such murmuring unquiet Spirits, which might raise a Storm at home by a Civil War.

R E F L E X I O N.

Divisions in a Family are as fatal to it, as to a State. Therefore if a Gentleman would support his House, he should live in perfect Union with his Parents, and other Relations; his Patrons and Friends, and even with his Officers and Servants, that all may conspire to the Advancement and Preservation of his Fortune. He should endeavour to win the Love of the whole World, by his good Offices in proper Times and Places; for 'tis certain, the same Measure they give to others, by the same shall it be measured to them again; and if a Gentleman Loves, and upon any occasion Assists another, he has Reason to expect the same Love and equal Assistance upon the like Emergency. *Si vis amari, ama*; the way to win Love, is to love.

If a Prince has Reason to be watchful against a Conspiracy, a Gentleman should be as Cautious to avoid Poisoning, or Assassination,

tion, especially where there are inveterate Enmities between Families, or where we know a Man has Malice enough to reduce his Enemy to the utmost Despair and Necessity, to destroy him. The way to shun these mournful Accidents, is, to injure no Body, to be Careful how you give Offence to Men of a quarrelsome Temper, or such as are Treacherous, who are naturally Revengeful. It is also convenient to be provided with Domesticks that are affectionate to his Person, and who may have some Interest in taking Care of him, in Cases where there are no Heirs nor very near Relations: But certainly, a Man that wears a Sword, should be well armed, or well attended, to avoid any Surprize or Insult from his Enemies, according to the Maxim; *Si vis pacem, para Bellum*: The best way procure Peace, is to treat with Sword in Hand. The way to prevent being attack'd is, to be always ready provided for Defence, which depends much upon a Man's Wariness.

Factions are every whit as common in Families as Kingdoms. *Rara est Concordia Fratrum*: 'Tis a rarity to see Brethren live in perfect Amity. To stifle these Divisions, a Patron should be chosen among their Relations or Friends, to decide all Pretensions.

Quarrels produce the same Fate in Families, as Sedition does in a State; it disturbs their Calm and Repose, and confounds their Estates, by destroying that Union by which they should Flourish. To avoid the Ill of
such

such Consequences: A Gentleman may consider, that as there are few Wars between States which are Just and unmixt with Pride and Ambition, so there are scarce any honourable Contests between Relations, but the ground of them generally proceeds from a wrong Bias of the Mind, as Interest, Passion, Jealousy, &c. Therefore 'tis most proper to decide their Animosities by the Arbitration of prudent and disinterested Persons, who, like just Judges, will determine each Party his Right.

As Rebellions have their Rise most usually from the boundless Ambition of the Great, or the pressing Wants of the Poor; and Treasons spring forth upon an ill Choice of Ministers of State; for the same Reason, a Gentleman should seek to shelter his Fortune from the Violence of such as are more Powerful than him, who sacrifice every thing to their Interest; and be as Cautious of the Malice and tricking Designs of the Poor, whose Want lets them stop at nothing; and here you may by the way observe, that the Virtues of your Citizens and middling rank of People are the most Sincere and Unstained, as being free from the Temptations which attend each of the other Extremes.

We cannot finish this Reflexion more Profitably, than by considering that we should try our Friends a long time, and know them thoroughly, before we trust 'em with any Secret in our Business; to avoid being cheated

and imposing upon, which is too Common, even among Relations, and such as make a shew of being our best Friends.

M A X I M V.

Of P E A C E, how conducive it is to the P R E -
S E R V A T I O N of the S T A T E.

Altho' Sovereigns have a Right to make War, for the maintaining and support of Justice; 'tis however more Glorious to preserve a Peace that is advantagious to the Subjects, to make them feel the Sweets of the Publik Benefit which spring from it. This is to copy more exactly the God of Peace, Jesus Christ, who descended from Heaven to procure it for us. Venit nobis Rex Manusctus.

*In short, after having made War with the Devil, and destroyed Sin, by his Death and Glorious Resurrection, He preached Peace to Mankind; which is a standing Lesson to Christian Princes, that their Inclination should be to nourish Harmony and Union with their Neighbours; and never to draw their Sword, but upon unavoidable Necessity, according to St. Austin's Counsel. Pacem debet habere Voluntas, Bellum Necessitas. War draws after it such a train of Misfortunes, that a Prince should tremble when he is upon the point of proclaiming it; for he is accountable for the Disorders that follow. 'Tis not therefore Interest, nor a prospect of private Gain to himself, which should put one Prince upon breaking with another; No-
thing*

thing but the Justice of his Pretensions, and the Necessity of defending them, or to protect their Allies and Subjects can justify so violent a Proceeding.

This Maxim teaches a King to keep himself always armed both by Sea and Land, if he would avoid a War. The Nobility and Warlike Gentlemen should be respected and caressed; for they, like a Man's Arms, are the Weapons that defend the Body of the Government. Care must be taken to have Ships always ready at Sea, to attack or defend. The Fortresses on the Borders, which are the Barriers of the Country, should be in a posture of Defence, and good Arcenals well furnish'd with all Necessaries for a vigorous prosecution of a War, that his Enemies may not take Advantage of his Weakness at any time to surprize him; as I said before, the surest way to stave off a War, is to be ready for it. Si vis Pacem, para Bellum.

If 'tis true that lesser States generally become a Prey to the more Powerful, and an innate Ambition leads Sovereigns to aggrandize their Demains, by reducing the Neighbouring States. Prudence should make Princes wary how they involve themselves in a War with a Monarch of greater Strength than themselves, for it almost always happens, that the Lesser falls a Victim to the Greater. To avoid this, a Sovereign should fortify himself by Alliances with such as are in a Condition to defend him, and have the same Interest with themselves, that they may unite their common Force against the Common Enemy. He should make his Allies sensible, that the Conquest of his Country was but paving a way to
the

the ruine of theirs and that the over-grown Power of a Warlike Prince is generally fatal, and ought always to be suspected. If a weak Prince can by Treaty divert the Storm from his Country; or purchase a Peace, he should seek it, let the Price be never so great.

Lordships and Commonwealths are more fit to preserve their Territories, than Enlarge them by making Conquests; so that the Hollanders were much out in their Politicks, to oblige the King of France to make War with them at a juncture, when they might have bought their Peace at an easy Rate.

When 'tis a Sovereigns Misfortune to be obliged for the Preservation of his Honour, and the Protection of his Subjects to make War; he should endeavour to carry it Home to his Enemies Door, by which Resolv'd Boldness he gains a double Advantage, Animates his own Troops, and strikes Terror into those of his Adversaries.

The Party that invades, must use all means to Tempt his Enemy to a Battel, that he may make Conquests upon the Ruins of their Army. But the Defensive side must be as Cautious to Hazard it, lest a Defeat should be attended with the Loss of his Country: besides he should try his Neighbours and push them forward, to give a Diversion to the Superior Forces, or else if possible, to kindle a Civil War in his Enemies Kingdom, which may draw him Home from one that is Foreign.

Prudence likewise obliges petty Princes to put themselves under the Protection of the Greater, as well to share with them in the Benefits of Peace, as to be defended by them in times of War: and when a Victorious Enemy by hard Fate threatens a Government with utter Ruin, 'tis better in that case to Surrender Voluntarily a part of your Dominions, than run the Risque of all; and in the mean time Court strong Alliances, and that done, to watch for an Opportunity of regaining what he was constrained to abandon, in Compliance to the Necessity. In short if the Danger be grown to the last Extremity, venture all to the Decision of a Battel; if you vanquish, your Affairs are Restored, if you fail in the Glorious Attempt, you Perish Nobly.

R E F L E X I O N.

No Body denies, that to defend our Lives, our Honour and Estate, is Lawful in the sight of God and Man, and one Affront tamely passed by, draws others after it; however, a Gentleman that pretends to Christianity, should esteem it more Honourable to live in Peace with his Neighbours, and entirely shun all Tumults and Quarrels, than to Embroil himself without cause, let him come off never so Bravely; according to that excellent Maxim inferred from the Politicks of Sovereigns. *Amicum cum omnibus debet habere Voluntas, defensionem*

fensionem vero sola necessitas. We should Court all Mens Friendship, and never make an Enemy if we can help it. 'Tis plain that a Quarrellsome Gentleman is slighted and hated by every Body; but if he behaves himself Civilly and Honourably, as becomes a Gentleman, He wins the Esteem and Love of all Men.

Nevertheless, as a Prince Sleeps not in time of Peace, but Buries himself in laying up Supplies for a War, when Necessity shall require it, so a Private Person will find it the best way to prevent Contests, is to be always ready to answer them, and repel with Force such as without Justice attack them; therefore he should be accomplished in all Exercises, particularly in what relates to Arms, Vaulting, or the like, lest some pretended Hero should Raise his Name by vanquishing a Man who has perhaps as much, if not more Courage than himself, but less Art. Experience shows us, that a Gentleman who has Courage enough, Prudence, Skill, and not destitute of Friends, is seldom Engaged in a Quarrel where his Adversary is not the Looser.

When hard Fate necessitates a Gentleman to Resent an Affront, he should always let the World know that he had done all that he could, or ought to do, without lessening his Character, to keep peace with his Adversary; this makes his case seem clear to all under whose Cognizance the Story falls, and renders their Opposite Odious;

idious; but all convenient means should be used to accommodate the matter before they come to Blows; for I maintain it still, that nothing but an indispensable Necessity of defending our selves can justify a Quarrel.

If Greater States can Devour and Swallow up the Lesser; so Long Hands and Powerful, seldom fail to crush their Inferiors in substance. Therefore 'tis a Gentleman's part, to show a profound Respect to the Great Men of the Kingdom, and do nothing to provoke the hatred of an Enemy too strong for him. It often happens in cases of unjust and contentious Law Suits, that 'tis better to quit one's Title to a part of what he has a Right to, than hazard the whole. And if we are not in a Condition to defend our Selves, to get as many Protectors and Friends as we can, which may Interest themselves for us, and procure Peace and Repose, in which consists the Felicity both of States, and Private Persons.

C H A P. III.

Containing Five Maxims, for the Enlargement and Increase of a State.

WISE Nature, in all it's different Provinces or Functions, after having
be.

bestowed a Nutritive Faculty on Living Creatures for the preservation of the Species, confines not its Bounty there, but endows them besides with a Capacity of improving, and moving forward to greater Perfection, so Prudence and Policy, in Conformity to that Model, engages Monarchs not to stop at the Maxims, which are necessary for the Establishment and Preservation of a Government, but teaches them to take a farther view to all just and fair Methods, to Augment what they already possess, with such as lye within their Reach.

This is the reason why Princes are the most sensibly touched with Ambition; no Passion is more Noble, nor influences them with greater power, than a thirst after Glory, to immortalize their Names by Aggrandizing their State; they look upon it as unworthy of an Hero, to leave their Territories as they found them, and that such fall short of true Honour, who labour not by all Laudable means to render their Possessions greater and more flourishing.

To digest these Five Maxims, Regarding the Increase of a State, into some Method. I shall in the *First*, Treat of Agriculture and the Founding of Towns, as the Fundamental Goods of a State, and the Natural Riches which it make flourish. In the *Second*, shall be considered the Necessity and Advantages of Manufactures. In the *Third*, Merchandize both as to Importation and Exportation

tion. In the *Fourth*, We'll Treat of the Benefits a Sovereign reaps by Marriage with Heiresses, to the Enlargement of his Dominions; and we shall Conclude the *last* Maxim with recommending to Princes Just and Lawful Conquests.

M A X I M I.

Of the INCREASE of a STATE by AGRICULTURE and ARCHITECTURE.

Since Tillage of the Ground, Raising of Plants and Trees, and the Grazing of Beasts, are the Natural Source of all the Goods, which are necessary either to Prince or People, to lay a Foundation of an Happy and Plentiful Life; there is nothing a Monarch can more deservedly purchase the Title of Father of his Country than by their Encouraging of Agriculture, which furnishes the State with all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life: tho' the Country be well provided with Manufactures, which improve and instruct the Subject, and Money which fills the Treasury, and the Peoples Purse, by the Finances, and Foreign Trade; we see nevertheless, by the Hollanders, that a Country may often want necessary Goods, if they draw them not from their own Natural Stock, and have it not from the Hands of their own Husbandmen, which are the Ancientest Artists in the World, and the most useful to the Publick.

There.

Therefore if a Sovereign would make the Nation Flourish, he must manage his Affairs so as to find in his own Territories, all such things as are necessary for the Publick Happiness, for nothing is more certain than that they are the most happy Countries, who want least Supplies from their Neighbours; but in the Fertility of their own Soil find enough to nourish and maintain the Inhabitants, especially if they can, besides, relieve the Wants of bordering Countries, by which Traffick they draw by exchange, what they want themselves, especially their Gold and Silver.

Thus England, the most plentiful Country in Europe, abounding within it self with all things necessary and convenient for their support; and being well Cultivated by its Inhabitants, not only plentifully rewards the Industry of the Husbandmen, but having supplied its own People, with whatever they have occasion for; there is so great a Surplus as enables them to furnish most part of the known World, with the most valuable and useful Commodities, as is well known in France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Turkey, the East and West-Indies, and indeed to all the habitable Parts of the Earth; where their Trade is Prized and their Traders Esteem'd, only for the sake of their own natural Products, with which it superabounds. By this they gain the most valuable Treasures of the Nations they deal with, and by this Natural Wealth, they furnish themselves with, whatever serves for the Use or Pleasure of Living.

One may observe among the Poles, how their Neglect of Agriculture, is occasioned by the severe Usage the Poor Husbandmen met with, being Treated like Slaves, not by the Nobility only, but even by their very Servants; which makes me think it highly necessary to encourage these Poor Labourers; for want of this we see Poland does not produce one quarter so much as it might, for the Country is Fruitful and very large. Husbandmen are no where more encouraged than among us in England, which Enables us to carry on so Advantageous a Trade with our Neighbours, by such vast quantities of our own Products, to the great profit both of Prince and People.

The Reformation of Abuses in Waters and Forests, the Discovery of Mines of Coal, of Iron, and other Metals and Minerals, as that of Marble, found in several Places, mark to us the great use of Agriculture, which produces all these Advantages.

Those Industrious Persons cannot be too much Praised, who have Drained the Marshy Grounds in many places of this Kingdom, by the Example of the Venetians in the Polesine of Rovigo, and the Dukes of Ferrara in the Valley of Comachio; but the most remarkable Instances of this are the Dutch and Flemings in the Low-Countries, which they have almost form'd into a Terrestrial Paradise by their Unparallel'd Labour and Diligence; and, to their Praise be it said, when they wanted Ground they turned their Industry to the Sea, having first secured themselves against it by their Dykes.

'Tis no less than Justice in a State, to drive such slothful Gentlemen from their Estates, who know not the right use of them; and those that by Pains-taking, would put an Estate into a new Posture, by Cultivating any Useless Neglected Ground, or introducing some new Improvement upon a Barren Soil; these should be rewarded with Immunity from Charges for some time.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Gentleman should be as Ambitious to Advance his Fortune, and increase the Patrimony of his Ancestors, as a Sovereign to enlarge his Territories. He has but a mean Spirit, who can sit down contented with the Acquisitions of his Parents, he must pass for a sauntering simple Fellow, and a Man fit for nothing, who aspires no higher than barely to feed upon the Inheritance of his Fore-Fathers. A Gentleman that has any Soul in him, should consider the Fortune he possesses, as the steps by which he may advance himself higher, and count it to be a degenerating from his Brave Ancestors, to add nothing to it. *Alexander the Great* must not be forgot on this occasion, who when he was upon the Point of passing into *Asia* to subdue that part of the World, e're he set forward, divided what he possess'd in *Greece* among his Friends, reserving to himself only the Hopes of Conquest. If Ill Fortune confines our Hopes to a narrow compass, a well fix'd solid
Mind

Mind will notwithstanding never yield to Despair. *Qui sperare potest nihil, desperet nihil.* Tho' our Prospect be not very encouraging, we should not suffer our Spirits to be dejected, and this makes me conclude, that a Gentleman should use all means for his Advancement, which may Consist with Honour and Justice.

The First and most easy, as well as most fair and Lawful, to improve ones Patrimony, and what Estate we may have acquired our selves, is, to increase the Goods we possess; as, to be Vigilant over our Servants and Tenants, to suffer nothing that is useless to remain upon the Ground, and to see that the Farmers do not Commit waste upon the Grounds when their Lease is near Expiring.

The Land should be well Stock'd with Cattel, to make it more Fruitful, and better Cultivated; the Estate should be improved with great care; but above all, he should let his Farms to such as are Rich Substantial Men, for the Credit of his Estate, and because there he may receive his Rent duely.

The Proverb, *That the Masters Eye makes a Fat Horse*, is very pat to this purpose, as is that, *the Foot of the Husbandman manures his Ground*; which is an Instruction to us to keep a Watchful Eye on our Estates, to see our selves what condition it lies in, if our Station will allow, for you'll scarce find any Steward so zealous as his Master, or that

ever any thing succeeds that is managed by Proxy, so well as if you do it your self. A Good Land is that which yields Plenty of all things, and a good House is that which wants no Conveniences for its Masters Service; and such a condition you must endeavour to put your Estate in; 'tis likewise Profitable and convenient to a Gentleman, to keep a breed of good Horses, as well for his own use, as to profit by them; 'tis a way both to serve the Publick, and put Money in their own Pockets. *In re familiari laboriosior est Negligentia, quam Diligentia.* Lazy Men make themselves the most Work, Industrious Persons are the Nourishing Fathers of a State.

M A X I M II.

Treating of the INCREASE of a STATE
by the MANUFACTURES and ARCHITECTURE.

When a Sovereign has Prudently taken care to be well provided with Husbandmen for the Nurture of the State, and Supplying it with all sorts of Natural Riches; his next business is, to look after Artists, and introduce all sorts of Manufactures, as well for the necessity and conveniency of the Subjects, as to support their Commerce with Foreigners. A Great Number of Artists in all sort of Trades naturally produces Plenty: but 'tis your good Workmen that Compleat and Perfect

fect an Undertaking, and their Performances which draws the Current of Trade to the Country where they live.

It is necessary in all States that the Magistrates should establish Corporations of Workmen; that none be permitted to Exercise any Art, but such as have served a full Apprenticeship, and Men should be chosen out of each Respective Trade to inspect their Work, and give an account of it upon Oath, that such as do not deal faithfully should be expelled their Country. Sovereigns themselves, to spur Skilful Handicrafts Men to Rival each other in Excellency of Workmanship, does usually bestow Presents and Rewards as well on such as surpass others in their Profession, as on such who have invented a New Art, or made some considerable Addition to those already in being.

The Industry of the Dutch, in Manufactures of almost all sorts, has made People say, that they have their Wits at their Fingers end; because they excel in all Mechanick Arts whatever. In short, they have, by the Work of their own Hands Furnished Cargoes, (that is to say, the Goods the Vessels are Loaded with) to all such as make long Voyages; so that their Manufactures have contributed as much to the Establishment of that State, as their Commerce.

Nothing is more expedient to make Arts Flourish in a Kingdom, than to set to Work all its Inhabitants both Old and Young, that by labouring in some particular Calling, they may both gain their Livelyhood, and at the same time serve the Publick. 'Tis convenient

G 1

nient likewise to Establish every where Communities of Artizans, such as our Work-Houses and Hospitals in and about the City of London, where Charitable Care is taken to put the Poor into a Method to Surmount their Necessity. 'Tis likewise a Custom no less Just than Profitable to the Publick, for Masters to Recompence their Valets, by putting them Apprentice to some Honest Profession, and the Expectation of such a Benefit would make them discharge their Duty to their Masters with Chearfulness and Fidelity.

Magistrates, who ease the Prince of the lesser Burthens of the State, should be very cautious to prevent the Exportation of raw Commodities, that is, Unmanufactured, as Wooll, Hemp, &c. for after having Manufactured them, they sell them back to us, to their great Gain, and our Loss; returning, for Example (as is the Practice of the Dutch in their Trade with Poland,) an Ell of Cloth at the Price of 20 Livres, which they have made of a Pound of Wooll, that stood them in 20 Sols. In this case the Loss is double, the Subjects want the Gain which they make of our Raw Goods, and the Foreigner runs away with our Money, by Selling us, at an Extravagant Rate, what we let them have a Penniworth of.

Policy does not only address it self to the Improvement of such Arts, as are necessary for the Preservation of a State, as Bakers, Shoemakers, Cartwrights, Weavers, Taylors, and Architects; but a special regard must be had also, to the Establishment and Maintaining of all the Arts which Relate to War, such as Fortifica-
tion.

tion, Gunnery, Navigation, making Pouder, Matches, Bullets, all Offensive and Defensive Arms, &c. besides a Prince should be provided with Men of Skill, to instruct the Soldiery in what belongs to their Profession; Lastly, no Stone should be left unturnd to Furnish the State with all manner of Artists, that are of Service to the Publick. Of all Arts that conduce to the Greatness or Strength of a State; Agriculture, (as was said before) which occasions the building and enlarging of Towns, and the Defence of them by Fortifications, are exceedingly commendable. 'Tis good then to consider the means by which Towns have been founded and increased.

We must observe in the first place, that the mutual Assistance Mankind can yield each other, was the Original Motive of their dwelling together in Cities, which they fortified to shelter themselves from the Insults of their common Enemy; and as they had recourse to Policy, to form Rules for their good Government, that Science borrows its Name from a City, where it first had its Birth; so that People who live out of Town, or in a Country singly, without the Benefits produced by Society, may be stiled Barbarous; and that Nation which has the greatest number of Cities, and the most Strong and Handsome, are the most Polite and Flourishing.

If you intend a City to be very Considerable, its Situation must be chose in a wholesome Climate, to contribute to the Health of the Inhabitants by the Purity of the Air; It should have the Conveniency of some large Rivers; and if possible,

sible, the Neighbourhood of the Sea, to attract all such Riches as are necessary to the Happiness of the People. If it border upon an Enemies Country, fortify it strongly, that the Townsmen may live in Security.

The Fruitfulness of the Neighbouring Country, Manufactures, Trade, Exercise of Religion, Tribunals of Justice, the Universities, and Excellent Masters in all Professions, do wonderfully contribute to its Increase. But if it be intended for the Capital of a State, and to be the first City in the Kingdom; the Sovereign should fix his ordinary Residence there, by which the Nobility and Gentry flocking thither to make their Court, and offer their Service to the Prince, do Enrich and Augment it with Magnificent Buildings, and the Number of Inhabitants increases daily: The Gain got by a numerous and rich Court draws from all Quarters. The Privileges which Kings endow great Cities with, serves greatly to their Advancement, especially when they are secure too, and the People in all Conditions can find somewhat to turn a Penny with.

REFLEXION.

The Happiness of Private Persons, like that of Kingdoms, consists in a diligent search after what is necessary for our selves and Families, by a Judicious Choice of Tradesmen or Artists. Therefore a Gentleman should deal with Artizans of the greatest Fame, their Reputation being a pretty sure mark
of

of their Skill, and provided a Man is so wary as not to be cully'd purely for the Name's sake, such an one's Work is seldom too dear.

A Gentleman that seeks Generous Education, to qualify himself for a considerable Post in the Army, must not grudge the Money it costs him, to have the best Masters of all sorts, to compleat him in such Bodily Exercises as becomes what he is about to undertake. To the Honour of our Nation it may be said, that our Universities are provided with such excellent Masters, that they are grown the most Famous in *Europe*, as may be seen by the great Concourse of Nobility from all parts of the World.

'Tis a thing of the greatest Moment to an easy and quiet Life, to furnish our selves with all the Necessaries and Conveniences such of Life, as a well replenished Wardrobe, Genteel Household-Goods, and every thing else that is conducive to our well being.

If a Person of Quality have Possessions sufficient to answer it, he may Enrich his Estate by settling Manufactures upon his own Lands, to turn the Currency of Money that way, that he may vend to the Workmen the Product of his own Ground; for it's undoubtedly true, that Industrious, Laborious People make Plenty where ever they settle.

'Tis a great Honour and Pleasure to have his Lands improved and adorned, Houses Built upon his Estate, and to have a Noble Palace

Palace in the Capital City, where his Quality calls him to reside sometimes, to make his Court to the King.

A Gentleman generally Places his delight in a Splendid House, and Visits it often. It should be Seated in an wholesome part of the Town near the Prince's Palace, and in a Place well accommodated with the Conveniences of Life; the Building to be compleat, must be firmly founded, convenient, and as Stately as the Bounds of his Fortune will allow.

As the Prudence of a Sovereign, makes choice of an Advantagious Situation for the City he intends to found, as for Example, a Fruitful Soil, near the Conveniencies of Wood, Water, and above all the Sea; takes care likewise to Fortifie the Town, to cover it from the Attacks of Enemies, 'tis the same case with a Gentleman who would purchase an Estate, or improve some part of his own, by Peopleing it, he should fix upon a Place Blessed with a good Air, Fruitful Soil, near a good River, or if possible the Sea, well stored with Woods, and Meadows, strongly Situated, or at least sure enough to keep our Enemies out.

As to the chocie of Domestick Servants, a Man must spare nothing to find out such as are Diligent and Laborious, that he may the better served by them, because of their Vigilance, and they are generally the most Skilful.

The Fortune of great Men is subject to so many Chances and Alterations, especially of such as profess the Military Art, that I cannot disapprove the Practice of some Countries where all Gentlemen are instructed in somewhat to gain their living by, if Captivity or any other Disaster befall them.

I shall Conclude this Reflexion with the Wariness and Circumspection, Gentlemen should use to Guard themselves against the Treachery and Tricks of Handicraft Men, by which they impose upon such as know nothing of their Arts. To find out these Cheats, I would inform my self as much as possible by my Friends that understand those matters, or Raise Jealousies between two of the same Profession, and Rivals in their business, in such a case the one of them never fails, in spite to the other, to reveal the Secret they Cully their Chapmen with. This sort of Men are so conceited of their performance, that they think themselves never sufficiently paid, and Fancy 'tis no more than doing themselves Justice, when they Cheat the Publick,

M A X I M

M A X I M III.

Showing how a STATE Flourishes by M E R -
C H A N D I Z E between the S U B J E C T S
themselves, and C O M M E R C E with
S T R A N G E R S.

It is not sufficient to the Felicity of a State, that it be well provided with Artists, and abound in Natural and Artificial Riches, there must be Merchants to hoard them up in Graineries and Warehouses, to make a publick Treasury of them, whither each private Person may come to furnish himself with what he has Occasion for. Without this Regulation, which is generally to be seen in great Towns, Labourers would lose a great deal of time in going to vend their Goods, which might be more usefully employed than in Travelling ; or else (which is as bad) every Citizen would be obliged perpetually to travel round the Country, to furnish himself at the Hands of each Artizan with what he wanted. 'Tis by Merchandize then that the Subjects maintain a mutual Correspondence, and a Communication of each others Goods; and, far from contemning such useful Persons, as the Nobility do, Sovereigns should encourage them, and make their Business as easy to them as possible, by the Conveniency and Security of the Roads, by the Navigation of Rivers, the proper Conduit by which Merchandizes are diffused through the whole Body of the Kingdom. As the Humane Body cannot subsist without the Circula-

tion of the Blood, which transmits Life and Nourishment to all its Parts; no more can a Nation support it self, without Merchandize, by help of which all the Goods the Kingdom abounds with, pass through the Hands of all the People.

The properest way to support and encourage Merchants, which Policy teaches us, is, to make an exact Fidelity flourish among them, and in case of any Dispute, to give them sovereign and speedy Justice, and to allow them, as is the Practice of our Mercantile Laws, a Power to chuse Judges themselves, to make a speedy and final Decision of what is in Controversy between them, without Interest or Partiality.

Next to Merchandize among our selves, let us cast an Eye upon foreign Traffick, which we shall treat of under the name of Commerce. It is so necessary to discharge the Kingdom of what it is overstock'd with, and import in lieu thereof what is wanted at Home; that we see no Country in the World so favoured by Nature, which has not occasion for this Employment.

To manage this important Affair with Discretion, be sure never to carry out of the Kingdom any thing which it is not sufficiently stock'd with, nor must our Neighbours be furnished with any Commodity that may be made use of against our selves, as Arms, Ships, Horses, and in short, every thing employed in War; besides, the Exportation of all raw unmanufactured Commodities should be prohibited under severe Penalties, that the Subjects may reap the Benefit of the Manufacture, the Work being an Addition to its Price.

Gold and Silver are such valuable things, that all Societies have thought it necessary to forbid the carrying them out of the State, unless for very particular and weighty Reasons, when we cannot maintain the Trade by way of exchange of Commodities. There is nothing a Prince should more assiduously apply himself to, than to draw the Wealth of his Neighbours into his own Kingdom. The Dutch are the cunningest Merchants of all Nations, for tho' they want all those Natural Advantages which England, and some other Countries abound with, yet have they for these 100 Years last past, been enriching themselves with the Spoils of the World.

Some things there are which Traders should not be countenanced to deal in, viz. such as serve only for Luxury, to soften the Minds of the People, and impoverish the Country, as your Precious Stones, Exquisite Perfumes, Unnecessary Spices, Genoese and Venetian Laces, Italian Pictures, China Ware; and in a word, whatever indulges Wantonness, rather than serves the Necessity and Conveniency of Life.

If it unfortunately happens that an Abuse of this Nature has got such Footing, that it is not Convenient to prohibit the Importation of such Goods, the Government should load them with heavy Taxes, without paying which, they should not be permitted to enter; by this Method, Strangers would be disappointed of the Profit which brought them hither, and for the publick Benefit the Luxury of particular Persons would be punished.

To facilitate Commerce, Rivers must be made Navigable, Harbours secured, the Sea cleared of Pirates, Roads and Passages kept in a good Condition, and scoured of Robbers. A Prince should likewise, if he can, take off all Duties laid upon such Commodities, as we stand in need of from Strangers, and take strict Care that no Disturbance be given them in their Commerce, by giving them speedy and due Redress, to the Complaints made against the Natural Born Subjects, who have any ways injured or imposed upon them.

A Merchant Adventurer follows a very Reputable Profession, it should not be decried as a mean sordid Employment; for we see your rich Dealers, when they have got sufficiently, withdraw themselves from that, to make a different and greater Figure in the World. I grant that Inland Trade properly belongs to the meaner sort of People, but venturing by Sea, becomes a Gentleman, as an Employ the more Glorious, because the more Hazardous; and the several Companies of Merchants established amongst us, are sufficient Testimonies of this.

R E F L E X I O N.

'Tis Prudence in a Gentleman as well as his Interest, to understand how to dispose of the Product of his Estate to the best Advantage, and to know how to buy what he wants at the best hand. He should beware of the Subtilty of Merchants who would
tempt

Tempt him to take things of them upon Credit, and by that cunning fetch, insnare him to his Ruin; 'tis an easy matter to take up Goods of these Greedy Fellows; but 'tis very hard to pay that abominable Usury which they commonly extort; and the sneaking Chicaneries and Tricks, which they practise to get their Money, often Ruin the best Families.

Since of the several Ranks of People, Merchandize seems allotted to Men of a Brisk Spirit, who are qualified as it were, from their Cradles, for the Command of Workmen and Handicrafts Men which they employ. The Nobility should take that into consideration, and not slight them as they now do, for we see 'tis often advantageous to Gentlemen, whose Fortunes are Ruined in their Country's Service, to restore their Unhappy Fate, by Matching with the Daughter of some Rich Merchant. A very great part of the Nobility, have made no Scruple to contract an Alliance with such Families, and by that Accession of Fortune, have supported the Tottering Honour of their own House.

Foreign Commerce is a Profession which becomes a Gentlemen; for as the true Nobility had its Original from Bravery and Valour, there is no Calling in the World where a Stout Heart shows it self more, than here. A Merchant has not Men only to contend with, but the Fury of all the Elements, so that

that I say the greatest Proof a Man can give of a steady Resolution and Bravery, is to expose himself or his Fortune to the Mercy of those faithless Elements. The Great Duke of *Tuscany*, your Noble *Venetians*, the *French*, *Spanish*, and *Portuguese* Gentlemen, and the chief Magistrates of *Holland*, have always thought it honourable to be *Merchants Adventurers*, which is far more to their Advantage and Reputation, than to turn *Bankers* and *Usurers*, the Employment many Gentlemen in *Italy* betake themselves to.

And there are so few great Persons who bend there Inclinations this way, that a private Gentleman will find it more easy to Rise to the highest Posts at Sea, than elsewhere; and when he is once accustomed to it, 'tis more pleasant, and less expensive to him to serve there; not to mention the Immortal Glory those Brave Adventurers have Achieved, who exposed themselves to long and tedious Voyages, to make new Conquests for the Advantage of their Country, and advance the Standards of their Princes to unknown Parts of the Globe.

H

M A X I M

M A X I M IV.

How a STATE grows in POWER by Marriages, Successions, Elections, Donations, Purchases and Engagements.

We have now explain'd the proper Method of Governing within, as I may call it, in order to increase a State; and we shall Treat therefore here, of the way how a Sovereign may add new Dominions to what he before possessed, to bring his Power to that just Greatness which constitutes its Perfection.

The First, the most Natural and most Lawful that a Prince can make use of, is to contract Marriages with Princesses that are Heiresses of a Sovereignty, which lies convenient for them, and would turn to their great Profit.

*Private Persons enjoy in this Case a more extensive liberty, they may Marry by Inclination or Fancy, or for their own Private Interest; but a King who is more closely Wedded to the State, than to his Wife, must be led in the choice of a Match by considerations of State, and the Publick Good, which is the Barrier and Security of his Private Advantage too. The House of Austria is a remarkable instance of the Success of this Maxim. They sprang, about 400 Years ago from the Counts of Auspurg in Switzerland, and have now, by little and little, with advantageous Marriages, acquired the Sovereignty of the greatest part of Europe. This made
the*

the Poet say, Arma gerant Galli, tu Fœlix Austria nube; as much as to say, that the Spaniards have made more Conquests by what has past between the sheets, than the French, and other Nations have by dint of Sword; but now the Politicians of Spain, and the Fools of France are Dead, as Vaubeuningen calls them.

The Considerations which generally guide a Prince to his Choice of a Consort; are, either to put an end to the War at home or abroad, by stifling the animosities by so close a tie as Marriage, or else to strengthen himself with Confederates.

Secondly, a Monarch may justly enlarge his Territories, when by right of Blood an Estate devolves upon him. This is a Title bestowed by Nature, and consequently received from the hands of the Almighty, the Governour of Nature. They are obliged in duty to take possession; and, if Violence must be used, by force to wrest their Right out of the hands of such as, being jealous of their Power, would Usurp it from them,

The Third thing which enlarges a Kingdom is Election, as when a free People make choice of a Prince to be their Sovereign, upon Condition, that he Reunite or Incorporate his Territories with the Crown they put upon his head. This Maxim has been practised in Poland; for 'twas by a Contract of this Nature, that the Great Dutchy of Lithuania was rejoyned to that Crown; they Electing the Jagellons, who were in possession of it, for their Kings. And the

same reasons of State had certainly induced them to chuse the Elector of Brandenburg, if he had been a Catholick, to Augment their State with the addition of Ducal Prussia, and the other Possessions of that Prince in Germany.

'Tis by Election that we have seen the Kingdoms of France and Poland, and oftentimes the Empire of Germany and Kingdom of Spain, meet in one Prince.

Fourthly, a Crown may grow greater by Donation; which is when a free People, or a Sovereign bestows the Sovereignty upon some good Prince to be protected and defended by them. Attalus King of Asia by his Will bequeathed his Dominions to the Romans; Michael Paleologus Emperor of Constantinople, gave Perou to the Genoese; Humbert the last Dauphin of Vienna, gave the Province of Dauphine to the Sons of France, upon condition, that the Eldest should always bear the Title of Dauphin; Charles Duke of Anjou, seeing himself without issue, by his Testament left them Provence; not to mention the Patrimony of the Church of Rome, given by the Kings of France and other Princes.

A Prince that desires such like Gifts, should make it his study to Possess those Royal Virtues which win Love and Esteem, the Natural Sources from which such Benefits flow, and be industrious to Protect and Care for such Princes as are without Heirs, and be as ready to serve a People that want a Master;

As to the last way of increasing a State, certainly no Commerce is so advantageous or honourable to a Prince, as purchasing a Sovereignty, a Commodity which cannot be bought too dear, for besides the Renown of such a Bargain, the Revenue is perpetual; so that we may say, Jane the First Queen of Naples, and Countess of Provence, sold a very cheap Pennyworth to Pope Clement of Avignon, and the County of Venaissin, for which he paid her Four Hundred Thousand Livres, which was no more than what she owed to the See of Rome, for Arrears of a Pension she paid for Sicily. Nor has the King of France paid too much for the Principality of Sedan, which he got by an exchange with the House of Bouillon; nor for the Town of Dunkirk, which Money wrested out of our Hands.

'Tis also very conducive to the Growth of a State, to join some Countries to it by Engagement; but especially, when the Contract runs so that at a certain time expired, the Consideration Money not paid, the Country is to be alienated to the use of the Prince to whom it was engaged. Lewis the XI. of France was very prudent in getting the County of Roussillon from John of Arragon by this means, to whom he had Lent Four Hundred Thousand Ecu's; and his Son Charles the VIIIth. was as imprudent to restore it without Reimbursement of the Money, that he might not be opposed by the Spaniards in his Enterprize in Italy.

The Duke of Saxony holds the Marquisate of Luzace by this Title. The Poles retain Livonia ever since the Year 558, at which time they lent the Teutonick Order, Six Hundred Thousand Ecu's to enable them to make War against the Great Duke of Muscovy ; so the Pope possesses the Dutchy of Castres, for a Sum of Money he advanced for the Duke of Parma. It is to be observed that most Countries so Engaged, in process of time, and the People growing Familiar with the Government of the Prince it was engaged to, become an absolute irrevocable Possession.

REFLEXION.

Noble Families find it as conducive to their Advancement, to contract Advantageous Matches, as Princes do ; they are the Present of Heaven ; however Humane Prudence contributes very much to them ; for no Man can be unfortunate in a civil Life, unless he has a mind to be so. A Gentleman should consider, that the Calm, Repose, and Sweetness of his Life ; that the Establishment, Preservation and Advancement of his Family and Fortune, depends upon a well chosen Marriage. To procure such an Happiness, keep always a watchful Eye upon the Estate and Kindred of the Parents, but especially the Merit and Virtue of the Person you intend to Espouse.

Successions are the most usual means by which a House is Enriched and Advanced ;
that

that Branch of Morals which regards each Man's Government of his Family, *viz* *Oeconomicks*, teaches how to manage that Momentous Concern, that they may be Benefited in this Respect, as far as Justice and Honour will suffer. A Gentleman had very often better quit his Right to an Estate, when 'tis loaded with Incumbrances and Law-Suits, than endeavour to disentangle it, and spend what else he has, to get the Suit decided and purge the Estate of Debts. But if a Fortune descend fairly to a Man, and there is a good Reversion to hope for, after all is paid, the Successor has neither Spirit nor Heart in him if he abandon it.

A Gentleman should, by a liberal Education, acquire all the good Qualities which are necessary to raise one's Fortune in the World; he should make his Ability known to the Prince and his Ministers, that he may stand fair for Preferment, when a Vacancy offers, and Rise the cheaper by his Merit only.

He should Carefs and do all the good Offices in his Power to his Relations and Friends, that have good Estates and no Children nor very near Relations to inherit them, that by a lucky Gift he may get the Riches he has Occasion for.

When by his Industry, a Gentleman has got together some Mony, 'tis prudent to employ it upon the purchase of a good Estate, or an handsome Post, that may yield him both

Honour and a good Revenue. He should esteem it the most fixed and solid Good to be well bottomed upon an Estate of his own, provided, he have some genteel Place, or honest Employment to keep him doing, that he may make some Figure in a Civil Life; for you'll observe an idle dreaming Person that employs himself no way to serve his Generation, is universally despised, and accounted as the Nuisance of Mankind.

M A X I M V.

Of the Increase of a STATE by right of
A R M S. and making C O N Q U E S T S.

Valour being a truly Royal Endowment, and since a Monarch cannot glory in a more Pompous Title, than that of Conqueror, we find Princes inspired with a Generous and Noble Ambition, to extend the limits of their Territories by Military and Heroick Achievements. The Magnanimity of their Soul finds an uneasiness to be cooped up within the Bounds their Predecessors left; they look upon themselves as Truants to Glory, and think nothing is done for the good of their Subjects, if they do not immortalize their Name by some Conquest. To acquire such Renown, Politics instruct them to begin a War with Caution, to prosecute it with Vigour, to put an happy and profitable End to it, and lastly, to hold fast what they subdue, that the God of Hosts, who favours always the juster Side, may give a Blessing to their

their Enterprizes, and Prudence may accompany them in all the Dangers they expose themselves to; two things must be avoided particularly in a War, Injustice and Rashness.

The just Causes which move a Sovereign to take Arms, are the Defence of his Subjects, and those of his Allies, to Revenge Wrongs done them, to Maintain their just Pretensions upon a State, to Defend, Establish, and Propagate their Religion, and according to the Opinion of Orthodox Divines, even to extirpate a contrary Religion, or a growing Heresy which is not to be Tolerated.

A Prince, that he be not Rash in a thing of such Consequence, should weigh well what Benefit he expects from the War, which must appear clear, as well as the probability of putting a Period to it, without Hazarding what he Possesses. A King therefore should make sure first at Home with his Subjects, by Justifying the Causes of the War, and obtaining their Approbation, that he may find them Hearty to assist him at a Pinch; he should Act safely to prevent any other disturbance from abroad, new Alliances must be made, and those with our Neighbours renewed, that they may succour and relieve us, or incommode our Enemies; at least, it takes them off from assisting our Enemy, it should be Debated likewise whether 'tis more expedient to fall on by Sea or by Land, and which is the weakest and most exposed part of the Country, and where they make the greatest Preparations against a Surprise.

A Prince should allure to his Service the Illustrious Persons in all the Neighbouring Nations, in order to fix in his own Interest Men who were Capable of fortifying and serving the Enemy. Good Magazines should be laid up, for the support of great Armies, which may all Perish if they want Necessaries; and take this as an approved Maxim, that of two Armies in the Field, that which receives its Provision last generally Triumphs over the other; for in that case they must fall on with all their Force. A Conqueror should go in Person to Animate his Army, dispirit his Enemy, and to be the better served by his Officers and Soldiers, to whom nothing is impossible when they Fight in view of their Monarch, and with the utmost assurance that their Services shall be taken Notice of and rewarded,

'Tis a Maxim in War, that he that expends the most, expends the least, for a Prince cannot be well served, if he does not Pay well.

The Reputation of having weak Armies in the Fields, does not Rob them of their Heart and Resolution, nor frighten other Princes from confederating for their Defence. From whence I conclude, that a Prince should not make War on a Free State for the sake of Conquest only; or when once begun, follow the Examples of the Turks and other Conquerors, fall on with his whole Force, and spare nothing that may be serviceable to the Design.

If the War be Defensive, the Party that is attacked must Defend himself as well as he can;
but

but if it be *Offensive*, a War of Choice, or for the sake of Conquest, it must be prosecuted with Great Vigour or never undertaken.

In making War, be sure to invade the weakest part of your Enemies Country, to Pierce into the very Bowels of it; once enter'd, the Conqueror should offer Battel, or endeavour to Force them to it; for the Consequence of Victory would be the Conquest of the State: If that fail, pursue him to the Capital of his Kingdom if possible, for a Blow upon the Head quells and astonishes Men more, than one upon any other part of the Body.

Conquered People should be favourably Treated, and given to understand that their Privileges should be religiously maintain'd; that he comes not to destroy either their Religion or Liberty; for these are such dear things, that for their Preservation Men prove the most Obstinate, and hold out the longest.

If the Enemy, whom we wish to Conquer, is possessed of a Province remote from the main Body of his Territories, and in the Neighbourhood of the stronger side, 'twould be no hard Task to reduce that, for a divided State is soon crush'd; the Enemy in that case resists and defends himself but with one Arm, against a Monarch who attacks it with his whole Force; 'twas this that gave France always an Opportunity to make Conquests upon the Spanish Monarchy, the several Branches of which are so distantly Situated from the chief Kingdom.

Conquest is a thing of too Violent a Nature to hold long, for Jealousy, and the common Interest they have in their mutual preservation, often engages Neighbouring Princes to take Arms on behalf of the Weaker side, with intent to restore them to their Pristine Liberty; a wise Conqueror should therefore Nick his time to finish a War, by a Treaty which may Confirm his Title to the Conquests already made, and gain the Friendship of the bordering Princes, who will be extremely pleased to find Danger is vanished, and the Expence of a War saved, especially if they likewise have the Glory of mediating in the Quarrel; besides a State already shattered will be transported at the conclusion of a War, which carry'd a prospect of such Fatal Consequences, especially when they discern no likely way of delivering themselves from it.

The Turkish Maxim of Warring with their whole Force, to make surprizing unexpected Conquests, and afterwards concluding a profitable Peace without restoring any thing, secures them from the danger of a Repulse by a Confederacy of Christian Potentates against that Common Enemy. By this means they have invaded the greatest part of the World, and carried the Terror of their Arms so far, as may cause Europe to Tremble. Non minor est virtus quarere, quam parta teneri; 'Tis as Glorious firmly to secure what is subdued, as 'tis to subdue. The want of understanding perfectly this part of Policy, was the Cause of Charles the VIIIth his losing Italy, in as short a time as he

won it; and of the last great Conqueror of Denmark and Poland, Charles Gustavus King of Sweden, his being obliged to abandon in a moment the Conquests he had made. The Moral of these Histories is, that a Prince often loses the fruit of his Conquests, when he is not so Prudent as to put a seasonable stop to the War. 'Tis therefore a constant and approved Maxim, drawn from the Example of all that have been imbrued in War, that 'tis Dangerous to be so Bloated with Success, as to resolve on the entire Conquest of a State, let the Hopes of your just Prosperity be never so promising.

'Tis therefore the safest way for a Prince to ratify, by an advantageous and seasonable Treaty, his Title to what Force of Arms gave him the Possession of. Conquests naturally create Jealousies in the Neighbouring Princes, and stir them up to form several Confederacies to wrest it from the Victor. He should therefore bethink himself of Expedients to maintain and preserve it, by managing the Hearts of his new Subjects.

The First is to make himself Esteemed, Loved, and Feared; for a Monarch Contemned, Hated, and Weak, is like a Tree which is blown down by the first Wind.

The Second is to show distinguishing Favours to such as are remarkable for their Devotion, Learning, and Exemplary Virtues, for they are the Masters of the Spirit and Heart of the People, they can stir them up and calm them when they please. Your Men of Eloquence can raise a Storm when they please against a new Government. Next
great

great Respect and Countenance should be showed to the leading Men of the Country, by investing them in honourable Charges, but the Officers and Troops of the new Conquests, should be elsewhere employed.

The Third way is to preserve inviolably the Privileges and Conventions upon which the Country yielded: For the least Alteration made by a Conqueror, make the People afraid that all is a going; but especially, never force their Minds in matters of Religion, nor change the old Laws and Customs, for they are always Suspicious of a Regulation they are not accustomed too.

The Fourth is, to educate them in the Religion and Customs of the Conquerors, as Alexander the Great sent Thirty Thousand of the vanquished Country to Macedonia, to be there Instructed, and as it were, Naturalized to the Usages of that Kingdom.

It is also convenient to unite by Marriage, the Hearts and Families of the new conquer'd People, with those of his own Subjects, as the Romans did formerly with the Sabines, and Capuans; as the French did with the Gauls; and Alexander, when he won the Affections of the Persians, by marrying their Country-woman: Nor is it amiss to introduce the Language of the Victor among the Vanquished.

When the Interest of Religion, or Reasons of State, engage a Prince to bring in a new Constitution, it must be done immediately, while the Astonishment of the Conquest lasts upon their Spirits; for the People, daunted at the Presence of

a victorious Army, easily swallow the Change, to avoid more fatal Consequences.

The last way to secure the newly reduced Subjects, whose Obedience is the Effect of Force, is, to keep himself always armed, and to disarm the Inhabitants. Besides, stout Fortresses should be built for the Security of his Troops, and to be a place of Retreat. Citadels should be erected with well Commanded and well Disciplined Garrisons, to awe the great Towns, were the Burgher sometimes proves more than a Match for the Soldier. If that be not sufficient to bridle them, Colonies of his own Subjects may be sent to live there, in lieu of such of the conquered People as he draws from thence to plant elsewhere.

REFLEXION.

As a Monarch has no way more Glorious to enlarge his Dominions, than by right of Arms, which produces just Conquests; so Gentlemen cannot choose a more Honourable Profession to advance their Fortune by, than a Military Life, which heaps Honour and Rewards upon them, if they be Brave and Fortunate enough to rise by it.

The four Means which they must make use of, to arrive to the end of their Ambition, are, to undertake that glorious Charge with Prudence, to exercise it with a great deal of Generosity and Constancy, to pass thro' it with Advantage, and to preserve the Reputation and Riches he may acquire in the way of his Employ.

Tho'

'Tho' Prudence is a Light necessary to guide our Conduct in all Concerns, yet certainly, no Gentlemen have more need of it, than such, whose Business is to command an Army, and lead a Life full of Hazards and Dangers, which he has no way to deliver himself from, but by mature and deliberate Counsels.

I say, therefore, that Men who have a stout Heart, should have likewise a wise Head to guide it, to preserve them from those Accidents their Bravery exposes 'em to continually; 'tis only their Boldness, or rather Rashness, that occasions their being Beaten; 'tis by Wisdom and Prudence that we Conquer and Triumph, *Opportuni sunt Transitus*: 'Tis Conduct, and timing of Things aright, which gives Success.

As the choice of a Profession is free to a Gentleman, that he may be either a good Clergyman, or a good Magistrate, when he suspects that he is not duely qualified for a Military Life; before he offer to undertake it, he should consult the Sentiments of his own Heart, consider his Extract, his Estate, his Patrons, his Kindred; and if his Health will allow him to try to advance his Fortune by Arms. If nothing appears Discouraging in any of these Circumstances, the Trouble and Fatigue should not be regarded, since 'tis a Life that promises the greatest Honours, and most glorious Recompences in the State,

When

When Prudence has once determined the choice to a Military Life, neither Expences, Fatigues, nor Dangers should discourage them from the Service; they should go on with Perseverance and Steadiness, if they aspire to Preferments in the Soldiery, that in the last Campaign they may reap the Benefits of the former ones.

'Tis Slothfulness, and the effect of a wavering Temper, to abandon an honourable Profession, which was our own Voluntary Choice; and 'tis as great a piece of Imprudence to lose the Advantage of our first Services; so that none but a *Cowardly Cit*, or a *Country Booby* would quit the Profession of Arms as soon as he is fairly entred; 'tis an Undertaking that requires Constancy, if you expect to be rewarded, and for that reason Married Men must not indulge themselves too much in the Embraces of a Wife, or fondling too much with their Children, when their Prince and Country require their Service.

When a Cavalier has fixed his Resolution for the Army, he should despise the Danger of losing his Life, when an Opportunity offers to lay the Foundation of his Fame, and to signalize his Courage; in this Glorious Profession 'tis justly said, *Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet*, once to Establish our Reputation in the Field, is to pave the way to the Preferments our Ambition aims at. *Aut*

Cesar aut Nihil, he must be a *Cesar*, or a Scandalous Coward.

I have no occasion to insist farther, when I know I am speaking to a People, who are naturally brave, or else I could produce reasons to animate Men to Fight, and convince them that Fortune always favours the Bold; *Audaces Fortuna juvat, timidosque repellit*, he that fears nothing is a King or deserves to be one, *Rex est qui metuit nihil*: but take this with you, that true Valour is as different from Rashness, as Cowardize, and 'tis as imprudent to expose our selves too much, as 'tis disgraceful and mean not to venture enough; the Maxim of, *Too much of nothing*, holds good here as well as in other Virtues; nevertheless the Crime which lies in the Default, is abundantly more dishonourable to a Gentleman than Rashness, which trespasses by Excess, the latter includes all that is requisite to Valour, tho' it goes beyond its due Bounds.

As to the third means of concluding a War to advantage, it consists in putting a just Value upon their Exploits in proportion to the necessity the State had for them, and taking care to have themselves well rewarded while the Opportunity is present and favourable. For 'tis too common for a Nation to forget, or slight the Services of a Leader, when they no longer need his assistance. He must manage his Reputation to the best advantage, while the Current of Success

Success serves ; and then, if he can conveniently, to make an honourable and fair Retreat from publick Business, lest the Tide of Fortune turn against him. He must not feed himself with vain hopes that he shall always succeed, nor be content with the empty Reward of Renown only, but make use of the present opportunity to procure a more solid Recompence ; none but Raw Novices are put off with the other.

Lastly, a Military Life being subject to numerous Casualties, Fortune turning the Reverse upon us frequently ; a Gentleman, that would secure his Reputation, and enjoy a Government in which he might live happily, tho' Duty obliges him to be always ready to serve his King and Country, should be cautious how he does it, and not weary out his good Fortune, lest she turn the Die upon him, leave him in the Lurch, and by a Caprice, too commonly the fate of Old Captains to be foil'd with, cause him to lose his Life, or the Fame his first Services had gained him.

When a General is possessed of his Staff, he may support himself upon the Credit of the Post, but not lean so much on it to break it ; that is, not rely so much on his past Desert as to grow remiss, and degenerate from his former Capacity, whether by losing his Renown in the Army, or the Prince's Favour. Such has been the unfortunate End of many brave Commanders, and 'tis in this

case, the Evening that Crowns the Day. *Exitus bonus coronat Opus.*

CH A P. IV.

Containing Ten Maxims proper for
Aristocracies.

M A X I M I.

THE first Maxim of the Nobles, is to persuade the People in Subjection to them, that this Form of Government is preferable to all others; to shew them 'tis a just Medium between the too Absolute Power of Monarchs, and the wild Liberty of Popular States; that the People being possessed with a Notion of the Inconveniences attending these two Extreams, may the more chearfully submit to be Ruled by such Good Persons, who observe so Nice a mean between the other two. 'Tis thus, that the Venetian and Genoese Lords make their Authority valued and esteemed, by those that live under their Seignior.

R E F L E X I O N S.

We may conclude from this Maxim, that 'tis Prudence in any Community whatever, to procure due Respect to the Government, and to make the Publick sensible of the
need

need they have of such a Constitution as theirs is. 'Tis a Lesson also to Private Men not to lessen themselves by Malicious Envy, which is hurtful to the Authors; but rather serve each other, and join Interests to Raise and support their Fortunes, and to have their Profession well accounted of: by which Behaviour they become more agreeable to their Prince, and gain more Authority with the People. The reason is, because no lasting Good is got by throwing Aspersions upon others, and a Reputation once blacken'd with Calumny is not easily regained. The surest way to get every Man's good Word is, to speak well of all the World; and if you would Merit the good Offices of others, you must take care, upon all occasions, to be ready to serve them.

M A X I M II.

The second Maxim of these Governments is, to be always Watchful and Distrustful; to be cautious of such as begin to overtop them in Power, lest the State be reduced into a Monarchy; and of those that are beneath them, that the People, aspiring to a share in the Administration, may not bring them to a Democracy.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Gentleman, in pursuance of this Maxim, must make his Court to the Great, to win their Favour and Protection, or at least to take care they be not his Enemies. He should secure the Friendship of his Equals, to engage them to support his Fortune; and neglect not to make your self Popular, and behave your self so to your Inferiors, as to attract their Respect and Service. But in caressing the People, take care you do not puff them up too much, or Raise them beyond what is becoming, for nothing is so insolent and dangerous as the Populace, who Scruple nothing when they Fancy themselves to be Courted because they are feared, or are necessary some way or other; nor must you Court their Favour so as to slight those you should obey.

M A X I M III.

For the Reason abovemention'd the Nobles, in whose hands the Government is, should observe this Maxim inviolably, to make themselves feared by their Subjects; therefore they must be kept in a condition never to be Capable of Attempting a Revolt, as by taking from them Excess of Plenty, which often makes them Wanton and Headstrong, as it happened to the People of Israel under Moses, or by Engaging in a Foreign

Foreign War to Punish their Purses for the Preservation of the State; disable them from controlling the Nobility during a profound Peace, and Raising Seditions to ease themselves of the Ordinary Taxes, or with design to Usurp a share in the Government.

R E F L E X I O N.

'Tis necessary to a Commander, that would discharge his Function with Safety, to make himself feared where he expects not to be beloved. Besides, a Man whose Power is Dreaded, is in less danger, tho' the Conduct be less Reputable, than one who places his Safety in the Affection of his Subjects. Those that are awed, obey out of Necessity, but such as do it out of Respect and Esteem, do it Voluntarily, and dispense with their Duty very often, because a Man that is generally free and aspiring, subjects himself only thro' Fear. If Fear be so requisite to a Magistrate, that the Prince and his Laws may receive their due Observance, an Officer in the Army should make himself terrible to his Soldiers, who would otherwise be Seditious and Refractory to the Orders given them in time of Battel. This was the Ground of that Saying of one of the greatest Captains of the Age, that The greatest Secret in the Military Art, was to pay well, and hang well.

M A X I M IV.

This Maxim Engages the Nobility to keep their Authority in a very even balance, and oppose the extraordinary Rise of any of their Number, whether in Reputation, in Authority, in Places or in Riches. If their Rivals are Persons of great interest with the People, send them to serve in some remot e part out of the way, and sometimes 'tis practicable even to Banish them. If they are Rich, impoverish them with splendid Embassies, which reflects great Honour to the State, and disperses among the inferior sort of People those Riches that made the Danger, and the Loss of them is sweetned by the Dignity of his Commission. Above all, none concerned in the Government should be intrusted with the Command of an Army, unless watchful Spies be set upon them to prevent their rising to the Power of a Cæsar. 'Tis upon this account that the Venetians repose but little Authority in their great Doge, and keep a Vigilant Eye upon his Behaviour, deny him the Privilege of going abroad, or receiving any visit, in particular from Foreign Ministers, or the Officers under that Government. If the Florentines had observed this Rule, their State had never been Monarchical.

R E F L E X I O N S.

'Tis the constant Practice of all great Men, to Level their whole Interest and Intrigues
against

against one, who by too extensive a Power would humble them; and of Courtiers, to hinder the Preferment of their Rivals if possible; and of Monarchs likewise, not to assist his Allies so far, that it remains no longer in his Power to give them Laws. 'Twas *Tarquin's* meaning when he advised to cut off the tallest of the Poppies. *Thrasylbulus* persuaded *Periander* to root up the Ears of Corn that were higher than the rest: and the Abbot *Touries* was of the same mind, when he counselled the King of *Arragon*, to cut off the Summits of the Cabbages. Lastly, this Maxim condemns those who raise their Inferiors or Equals to that Pitch, that they become their Masters. For in good Policy, he deserves to wear the Chain, who is so imprudent to assist at the Forge.

M A X I M V.

The last Maxim observed by a Seignior, which governs with Discretion, is, to penetrate deeper into the true Interest of their Country, than to embark themselves in an imprudent Design of making Conquests, which cannot but prove Fatal. First, War necessarily produces an Elevation of some above the rest, and once Masters of the Forces of the State, 'tis in their Power to subvert the Government, and erect a Principality upon the Ruines of a former Constitution, as has been seen by many Instances. Secondly, to execute a Design with Success, and facilitate a Conquest, Secrecy, Unanimity, and mutual Confidence are necessary

necessary, and are but seldom found in an Assembly of Nobles equal in Power, and jealous of each other.

R E F L E X I O N.

For the same Reason, Gentlemen may find it sometimes more for their Interest, to be Careful and Prudent in the Management of what they have, than to run Risques without due Consideration, and engage themselves in certain Expences, in pursuit of Advantages beyond their reach, and perhaps, such as are barely Imaginary; not that I blame any that hazard themselves to the Purpose, which is every Man's Duty. For we should consider the Fortune our Parents left us, as a means only to rise yet Higher. This Maxim likewise teaches the Nobility to keep a strict Union with each other, to preserve their Rank above others: 'Tis useful likewise to all that manage Affairs of Importance, to seek the Advice of all their Friends, for many Heads are wiser than one. On the other Hand, to execute a Project with Life and Vigour, nothing is so necessary as Secrecy and Resolution. For this Reason, a *Monarchical* Constitution seems destined for Conquests, whereas *Aristocracies* and *Democracies* should confine their Care to the State as already settled.

C H A P. V.

Treating of Political Maxims proper for
Democracies

M A X I M I.

THE first Maxim of a Popular State, such as the Switzers, or the Dutch, is, to inspire the People under their Government, with an extream Love for the Preservation of their Liberty, to persuade them that herein consists the distinguishing Favour of the Creator to Mankind; in this they differ from the Brute Beasts, which come into the World to be Serviceable to others, and obey whatsoever the Possessor of them orders; that the Subjects of a Monarchy, or a Seignior, have lost this precious Jewel, which is preferable to Gold or Silver, or any of the other Goods of Life; that they follow their Leaders blindly, like Slaves who are the Property of another; and that Popular States only are composed of Subjects who Free and Happy.

R E F L E X I O N.

The Instruction that a Gentleman should, and may draw from this Maxim, is to consider, that Men act always according to the Impression made upon their Minds, and the predominant Inclinations their Hearts are inspired with. He may use the Temper of his Inferiors,

Inferiors, as a Topick, from whence to draw Arguments to persuade them to what he would have them enterprize. The same Consideration is also useful to himself, to discover which way his own Genius leads, and suit Reasons to it, which may influence and give Vigour to what he has in Hand. For Example, if he have chosen the Military Life, he should still keep in mind the Motives that induced him to it, look upon it as preferable to all others, and never suffer his Esteem for it to pall, so as to act with Indifference and faintly in his Profession. The same Reason why a Popular Government seeks to commend their Constitution, should move *Monarchs* and the *Nobles* to the same Practice, to represent to their Subjects, the Happiness of these Forms, and despise *Commonwealths*, as a confused Hodg-podg of the Scum of Mankind, not fit to be compared with the regular Exactness of the other two. It may be prudently inferred from hence, that 'tis a good way to decry and give an ill Name to any thing we would have the People hate. I would advise all my Friends to have Intimates or Creatures, in the Country where they propose to raise their Fortunes, to gain Esteem by their discreet and well-timed Praises, and the kind Excuses they have ready for Faults. This Method was used by the Traitor *Cromwell*, to cover his Vices, and discover who were his Friends, and who his Enemies.

M A X I M II.

'Tis common both to Aristocracies and Democracies, to put a stop to the too great Rise of a Citizen, lest he become their Master ; but in this their Methods differ ; for a Democracy opposes the Nobility in general, as to what concerns the Appointment of Magistrates in the Commonwealth, whereas the Caution of the other is against a particular Person only ; the Hollanders, by neglect of this, gave Opportunity to the House of Orange, to whom however they owe their Liberty, to rise to that Power, that when they pleased they might dissolve the Constitution, and have taken upon themselves the sole Administration of publick Affairs ; but Necessity excuses this Error, for otherwise they had never been able to make Head against the Arms of France.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Gentleman, that would make a Figure at Court, in the Army, or in other Posts, should improve the Envy and Jealousy of his Rivals to his own Advantage ; and in some Cases, 'tis necessary to abandon even our Patrons : for if an extraordinary Merit appears, or a Gentleman advances in Reputation, they cannot bear an Eclipse of their own Fame, but will throw Calumnies upon him, and undermine his Credit with the World ; one Party fears he'll obtain the Preferments, themselves
aspire

aspire to, and their Patrons are unwilling to have them rise too much, lest they be over-topped.

The way to behave ones self in these unhappy Circumstances, is, not to be discouraged at their Abuses; let them not byas you to the Right or Left from the End you purpose, and perform your Duty inviolably, for such spiteful Attempts vanish with the Occasion, and they that could neither help nor hurt you, when they see your Successes, will be glad to be ranked in the number of your Friends, and assist a growing Fortune, which they could not stop.

It must be remembred, that Patience is the Virtue of a good Christian, and a worthy Magistrate; we may say, that Railing, Calumny, Jealousy, Evil-speaking, and Envy, are but Trifles not worth minding, which, like the *Cantharides*, prey upon the choicest Flowers, as these mischievous Passions level the Venom at the most illustrious and the most glorious Actions.

'Tis Policy in private Persons to wink at Scandals, and generally speaking, to despise such Injuries, not to fret and disturb our selves with the Reports that are spread of us; while they disturb not our Actions; let these busy Fomenters of Calumny, take their Belly full of Talk, and gall themselves with the Venom of their own Tongues: for an industrious Backbiter, generally finds his Mischief rebound to his own Disgrace.

M A X I M III.

'Tis the Custom of Republicks, to reward such as have done them signal Services with Ingratitude; and to sink the Reputation of those brave Commanders, who have spilled their Blood for them; to gain thereby a Pretence for saving the Recompence due to such Heroick Actions. An extraordinary Merit, especially if acquired by Arms, is extreamly Dangerous: To have deserved well of the People, is enough to pull down upon our Heads the Petalisme of the Syracusians, or Ostracism of the Spartans, which were, Banishment for Five or Six Years, that by their Absence and length of Time,, the Memory of their Desert might wear out of the People's Minds. The Ephori condemned Agesilaus their King, for no other Crime than having behaved himself so as to have stolen the Hearts of his Fellow Citizens; and Amilcar, when unjustly crucified by the Carthaginians, from the Gibbet reproached them with the signal Services he had performed for their State.

R E F L E X I O N.

Great Generals should take this as a warning, not to serve a Commonwealth in Opposition to Monarchs, unless they take good and sure measures to receive their Reward; and in a Kingly Government it is useful to caution us, not to waste our services on ungrateful People, or such as are not able to make any return for them. Gen-

Gentlemen are therefore obliged, both by Duty and Interest, to addict themselves wholly to the Service of a Sovereign, 'tis a Prince that is the Source of Honours, and all sorts of Favours we can expect. They may call to mind, how ungrateful Republicks are, and that they never fail to hate such, as they cannot reward according to their Merit; this Maxim may open the Eyes of such as are seduced to their Service, by great Expectations; for to demand your Pay, or talk of a Reward, is with them a Crime; and one is always Odious to such as are in his debt.

Many have found it, to their great disappointment, that there are Courtiers, whose Conscience will not Scruple to tell you, that Recompences are due only to Future Services, and with some Shuffling Pretence or other, Trick you out of what your past Toils and Hazards justly deserved. I have seen an *Italian*, who maintained, that 'twas best to do good to our Enemies, and be more negligent to our Friends, whose Inclination binds them fast to us already; that there was no Necessity to bestow Favours upon such who were in our Interest without any; only here and there one should be preferred for Example sake, that such as were so imprudent to serve us for nothing might not be lost. If I met with Politicks of this Stamp, I would take care to be paid beforehand, and make my self necessary to them.

them, or otherwise I would sooner chuse to be their Enemy, than their Cully or Tool. The Physicians have a Proverb very pat to this purpose, *Accipe quando dolet, nam sanus solvere dolet*. Take when they cannot be without you, and they'll pay generously.

M A X I M IV.

'Tis a very commendable Custom in Commonwealths, to keep their People perpetually employed; whether it be in War, like the Switzers, whose Subjects learn the Art of War at the Expence of Foreign Princes: Or in Trade, like the Dutch, who by that means fatten upon the Riches of the whole World, and have driven into their Country the greatest part of the Money of all Europe. 'Tis a Maxim they learned from the Romans, who observed it constantly, Melius est populo Romano Negotium quam Otium, they found it to their Advantage, to keep their Subjects always employed.

R E F L E X I O N.

Idleness is pernicious to all Persons, and the very Pest of a Community; 'tis the Spring of the most abominable Vices, and an Enemy to the brightest Virtues; it leads Gentlemen to Debauchery, and enervates their Courage: but Diligence, Pains-taking, and a close Application to Study, and the Exercises

becoming a Gentleman, puts him in a condition to Enterprize any thing. A Person of Quality should look upon his Rank as an Engagement to perpetual Business, and to do good to those that stand in need of his Assistance; like the Stars, who are set on high, by their perpetual Volution, to shed their kindly Favour and Influence upon Terrestrial Beings, seek all occasions of being serviceable to Mankind; and as Repose is ascribed to the Earth, as the lowest and most vile of the Elements; so Sloth and Laziness, agrees only with such debased Souls, that are good for nothing but Sleeping, that is, only to be out of the way.

M A X I M V.

'Tis well known by Experience, that Popular States have been governed by Men of Eloquent and Persuasive Language; whence it is that they have always affected to encourage Sciences among them, and particularly Eloquence, which puts the Reins of Government into the Hands of such as are Masters of Oratory; by that, your free Souls are led as you please, your Isocrates's, Pericles's, Demosthenes's, and your Cicero's are Witnesses of this Truth.

R E F L E X I O N.

A Gentleman may learn, by this Maxim, to keep himself perpetually busy, to banish
Sloth,

Sloth, which Ruins and Dishonours him Your Court-Gentlemen esteem none but such as are Active and Intriguing, who without Cessation apply themselves to improve their Fortune.

It teaches Oeconomists, that is, Masters of Families, that the good Fortune of their Family depends upon Industry, and taking care to procure Plenty of all sorts of Goods. This Maxim confirms that saying, *In re familiari laboriosior est Negligentia, quam Diligentia*, It costs more pains to recover what is lost by Negligence, than to prevent such Misfortunes by Diligence.

A Courtier cannot apply himself to a more profitable Study than that of Eloquence, which impowers him to subdue the very Hearts of all Men, 'tis the way to Triumph in a Council of State, to please the Great, to gain the Affections of the People, and make Friends; if he has the Honour to be an Ambassador, 'tis instructive, to harangue the People, to form mature Resolves, to praise, blame, defend or accuse, to compose differences; one cannot, without the help of Eloquence, come off with Credit in any of our Undertakings. In short, a Man that cannot talk well, never opens his Mouth, but he gives a proof of his Insufficiency, nor writes to any of his Friends, without letting them see his Ignorance, and making himself look like a Fool.

If the Nobility were Industrious to Elevate themselves by all the methods within the Verge of Honour and Conscience, they might advance yet higher than what Eloquence would help to; tho' that gives Orators so great a sway, by the Insinuations of their Rhetorick, even over such as call themselves Free People.

Maxims

MAXIMS

AND

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Art of War.

THE Profession of a Soldier is allow'd to be *lawful* by the Word of God, and not in the least inconsistent with the Character of a good *Christian*. It has always been had in so great Estimation, that *Emperours* and *Kings* have accounted it an Honour to be enrolled in the List of Valiant and Experienc'd Commanders. It is the *Soldier* that next, under God, rules over the greatest part of the World.

He that chuseth this Profession, ought seriously to consider, that *Honour* must

K 3 be

be his greatest Reward, and his Enemy his best Pay-Master.

There are two Things that induce Persons to embrace a Military Employment : The first is, A Noble and laudable *Emulation* of *Honour* ; the other, the Hopes of an Exorbitant *Licence*, to do Evil : As the Aim of the first are Virtuous, so will they do admirable Service : The other, by strict Discipline, may be brought to be good *Soldiers* ; but if that is neglected, then they prove the Ruin of an Army.

Let a *Soldier* be never so Brave and Valiant in an Engagement, yet, if he sinks under some Fatigues, which usually attend Military Expeditions, he is no way qualified for his Employment ; because the two Essential Qualifications required in such a Person, are Courage and Constancy ; and there is as much *Honour* acquired by bearing Want and Hardship with a resolute Patience in an Army, as by fighting valiantly ; and as great Achievements are perform'd by the
one,

one, as the other. It is no Virtue, but the Effect of a mean Soul, not to be able to undergo Hardships for some time; and yet it is easier to find Men that will sooner expose themselves to the utmost Hazards of their Lives, than endure Toil and Fatigues with a noble and undaunted Bravery.

Obedience is absolutely necessary in a *Soldier*; the Essence of all Discipline consists in it. He must be always ready to encounter the extreamest Danger with a superlative *Courage*, and oppose the utmost Fury of his Enemy with *Vigour* and *Resolution*.

He should always have a Respect to *Fame*, *Honour*, and the Publick Good, beyond his own *Safety*, and ought to fear nothing but *God* and *Dishonour*.

Every good *Soldier* arms his Mind with *Hopes*, and is courageous amongst the greatest Disasters which can befall him; his Heart never sinks.

The Way of *Providence* goeth through many crooked Paths; and a despairing

Mind is the sure Prognostick of approaching Evils.

Peace, Fulness, Pride and War, are the *Follies*, which being let into one another, make the Wheel that the Times turn on; and after a long Scene of Peace, War always entreth the Stage.

The *Causes of all War* may be comprized under six Heads: *Ambition, Avarice, Religion, Revenge, Providence and Defence.*

War, of all Employments, as it confers the greatest *Honour* upon him who acquits himself well; so on the contrary, it loads him with the greatest *Scandal* and *Infamy*, who demeans himself basely; the Reason is very evident, for one Fault committed, can never be retrieved; and the Mismanagement of one single Hour, may destroy all that Honour and Reputation, which hath cost twenty Years to acquire.

In the Affairs of *War*, there is such a Medley and Interlacing of material Circumstances with the very Body of the Action,

Action, that commonly one Business begets another.

No *Science* whatsoever, in the numerous Multitudes of its Parts, is comparable to the Military Art, where the most minute and unregarded Circumstance, quite alters the Nature of the Action; and amongst the various Events of War, many unexpected Offers arise to present him with *Victory*, who is but ready to embrace it; and many others so alter the Course of Things, that no foreseeing Eye can discern, what unaccountable Accidents may ruin the best contrived and well laid Designs.

War once commenc'd, cannot be laid down at the Pleasure of him that was the first Occasion of it, but must rather prove to be at the Discretion of the adverse Party.

War is just like *Offences*, *Necesse est ut Veniant*; and yet they are never found inexcusable, who are the original Cause of them. But in those *Wars* which are to defend your own Possessions, when they

they are threatned with an Invasion; or to recover them, being before injuriously surprized and taken from us; or when pressing Necessity is loud and clamorous; or when wrong'd and oppress'd Religion sounds her zealous Trumpet, and beats her pious Marches, go on and prosper.

Of an Offensive War.

AN *Offensive War*, is a sure Expedient to prevent a *Civil War* at Home; it will render you Formidable to your Enemies, and make you Honour'd and Belov'd of your Friends. It preserves the *Gentry* and *Commonalty* from *Laziness*, and all sorts of *Luxury*.

On this Head it must be observ'd, that no Kingdoms or States should engage in a *Foreign War*, but such, whose Wealth and Prowess must be Superiour to their Neighbours, and so, in all Probability, may give them Success in their Under-

dertaking ; for as a *Foreign War* is advantageous and beneficial to potent *Kingdoms* and *States* ; so on the other hand, it is equally prejudicial and destructive to *Minute* and *Petty* ones ; for being too weak to make any Advantage by it ; they are frustrated in their Designs, lose their *Money* and *Honour*, and so being impoverish'd, are render'd more contemptible, and are still enriching their Enemy at their own Expence.

Kings and *States* should not engage in a dangerous , hazardous and bloody *War* upon any of the least frivolous Occasion, or on slender or imaginary Affronts ; but diligently to weigh all the Circumstances thereof, and compare the Expence and Danger with the good Consequences which are like to attend it, and so let their Judgments give an impartial Determination, to which side the Balance in all Probability doth seem to incline.

They ought also to be very particularly informed of the *Extent*, *Situation*,
and

and *Wealth* of the Country, the Quality and Strength of the People, their general Humours and Inclinations, their Practice and Experience in *War*, the Commodiousness of their *Frontiers*, *Garrisons* in their inland Places, and their *Forts* and *Harbours* at Sea.

They ought to be very careful to take no more than they are sure to keep, and not to drain or impoverish their own Country ; for he that increases his Dominions, and at the same time diminishes in Strength, runs the Risk not only of losing his new Acquisitions, but very much endangers his former Possessions.

Those never grow strong who grow poor by a *War*, although they prove *Victorious* ; The Reason is, because they lose more than they get by it. This Error many run into, by not knowing how to set Bounds to their Ambition, but depend upon Conceit of their own Strength, till they are utterly ruined. For Conquests not having Power answerable

werable to their Grandeur and Extent, makes the New the ruine of the Old.

That *Prince* that undertakes an *Offensive War*, ought to be much Superior to his Enemy, in *Shipping*, *Men*, *Money* and all sorts of Stores and Ammunition both for Sea and Land; otherwise it would be an ill concerted and rash Enterprize; for an *Invader* must expect to go upon great Disadvantages.

When an *Attempt* is to be made upon a *Foreign Country*, the first thing that ought to be done, is to make themselves Masters of the best and most Commodious *Harbour*, or Sea Ports that lie nearest to the *Metropolis* of that *Country*; from this they may securely venture farther into the *Country* with the main of their Army, for this must be made a Place of Arms, to keep their *Magazines*, and Stores and Provisions, and this being always kept well victualled, will be a secure Place to retreat to, if Occasion require.

Having

Having gotten such a Sea-port Town, and having well fortified it and stored it, you have got one Foot on the Land, and the other on the Water.

After this, proceed as forward as Discretion and Safety will permit towards the Capital City, by which means you will force your Enemy unto Battel, and here if you prove Victorious, you take possession of, and march into it directly; but if it be well fortified, you must either gain it by Assault, or starve it. But in case you cannot be *Master* of it by sudden Assault, then you ought to lay formal close Siege to it, and intrench with the rest of your Army in the most convenient place, where it is most probably the Enemy will march to attempt to relieve it. You ought also to be very careful and curious to have good Intelligence, and to be continually sending out Parties of Horse several ways, that when ever the Enemy marches near you, you may not be surprized, but be in a ready Posture to receive him.

When

When you have thus made your self *Master* of the *Capital City* of any *Kingdom* or *Country*, I esteem the whole *Country* more than half conquered.

The surest way to keep a conquer'd *Country* in steady *Obedience*, is to be as little oppressive as may be (especially at first) nor to make any considerable *Alteration* in their *Religion* or *Laws*.

He that hath got Possession of a *Country* by the *Violation* of his *Faith*, hath gained the *Glory* of a *Conquest*, but lost the *Honour* of a *Conquerour*.

You ought nevertheless in *Prudence* to disarm them, and take *Pledges* of them for their *Fidelity*, which ought to be kept within your own *Territories*.

You should likewise secure and employ in your *Garrison*, all the *Workers* in *Saltpetre*, *Gun-smiths*, &c. and all those *Persons* that are any wise concerned in the making or furnishing *Ammunition*, *Stores*, &c. You should take all the *Powder*, *Brimstone*, &c. into your own *Custody*, and destroy all the *Powder-Mills*,

Mills, that are out of the Compass of your own Garrisons.

If the *Country* you attempted to reduce, is full of *Fastnesses* and *Defiles*, and the *Inhabitants* are more *Cruel* and *Malicious*, than truly *Couragious* and *Valiant*; and being so well acquainted with the *Situation* of the *Place*, they refuse to draw out and appear, unless it be upon very extraordinary *Advantages*; such a *War* in all *Probability* will prove tedious, and the *Victory* less honourable. In such *Cases* there is no other *Course* to be taken, but to *ravage* and *destroy* the *Country*, and so starve them out of their *Holes*, and by meer *Necessity*, reduce them to *Obedience*. This *Method* has been found sufficiently powerful, that it overcomes the greatest *Strength*; and when you meet with *Subterfuges* and *Delays*, that of itself will overcome all *Opposition*, and is alone sufficient to procure a *Victory*.

It is far better for a *Prince* to invade an *Enemy* in his own *Country*, than to stand
and

and expect him at home, if he have a competent Number of Forces to give him Hopes of Success; for the seat of *War* is always very *Miserable*.

Of a Defensive War.

THE best way to prevent the Attempts of a *Foreign Enemy*, is to be always in readiness to receive them; and that is by having a rich *Publick Treasury*, and the *Subjects* continually well disciplin'd. When you foresee that an *Enemy* is resolved to invade your *Country*, with a Design to conquer it, and you find him so much *Master of the Seas*, that he is able to block up your *Harbours* with his *Ships*; you ought to provide your *Magazines* extraordinary well with all sorts of Ammunition, Arms small and great, to have Saltpetre, Brimstone, Powder-Mills, Workmen, &c. in all your *Garrison Towns*.

L

In

In the beginning of a *Defensive War*, if you see it is like to continue long, having met with a Powerful *Enemy*, then it will be Prudence to entertain *Foreign Forces*, but be careful to receive none of those that are in *Alliance* with your *Enemy*, unless they are of a contrary *Religion* to them, thus you may spare your own People as much as may be, provided always you have *Money* to pay them punctually, otherwise they will prove Dangerous unto you, and be sure to entertain them no longer than you have *Money*, if you do, they will prove more your *Enemies* than *Friends*.

Entertain no more *Foreigners* than you are sure you are able to master; nor garrison them in your *Sea-ports*, or any other *Forts* where your chiefest *Magazines* and *Stores* are; and wherever you dispose of them in the Winter, for one Company of *Foreigners*, you ought to have two of *Natives*.

It is very Dangerous to make use of
Foreigners

Foreigners, to regain your own *Country*, But there is no Danger in having their Assistance to help you keep your *Country*, as long as you have *Money* to pay them.

By strong *Forts* and a well disciplined *Army*, you may straiten your Enemy, and hinder him from Provisions and Necessaries; and by entrenching always very near him, you may now and then fall upon some of his *Quarters*, and by this means hinder him from making any *Siege* of Importance; and when any one, designing to be a *Conquerour*, advanceth not, he loses Ground.

All such Places as you Garrison, ought to be well fortified, well Manned, and well provided with Stores and all other Necessaries, and never fortifie any Place that will require many Men for the Defence of it in a *Siege*.

When you are attack'd by a *Force* far Superior to your own, and are forced to leave some part of your *Country* to be ravaged by the *Enemy*; in such a Case, you

ought to burn all the *Provisions*, you cannot secure in your own *Garrisons* ; also all the *Towns* and *Villages* that you cannot cover and protect : for it is better to preserve your self in a ruined *Country*, than to keep it for your *Enemy*.

It is a Maxim, *That no Publick Good can be without Prejudice to some particular Men.* Therefore a *Prince* cannot extricate himself out of a dangerous *Enterprise*, if he studies to oblige and please every Body ; and the greatest and most common Errors which we commit both in *Court* and *Camp*, is, by suffering our selves to be byassed by this Complacency, whereof we repent when it is too late.

A *Kingdom* or *State*, tho' it hath received many Overthrows, should never cowardly yield themselves up Slaves to their *Enemies*, but look Fortune in the Face again, and hope for a glorious Victory ; if not, to lose more Gloriously, or obtain better Terms : but by tamely submitting, they can hope for nothing but saving of
their

their Lives, and it will be in their *Enemies* Power to deprive them of those too at their Pleasure. Now *Peace* is more grievous to Men under *Restraint*, than *War* to those that enjoy their *Liberty*, and they are very often Successful in their *Arms*, who have nothing else to trust to ; A just *Cause* is a good *Defence* against potent *Enemies*.

Of those that commence War.

A Sovereign Prince is more capable of making more large and noble *Conquests* than a *Commonwealth* ; especially if he go in *Person* into the Field, for no *Prince* ever founded a great *Empire*, but by making *War* in *Person* ; nor ever lost any but by making *War* by his *Vicegerents*.

Those that go to *War*, ought to make their *Levies* according to the *Circumstances* of the *War* they undertake, carefully

considering that they make no *Offensive War*, but such as they have a fair Prospect of succeeding in and supporting the Expence of it ; and if so, to make it both *Short and Successful*.

'Tis an excellent Property of a good and wise *Prince*, to use *War* as he does *Physick*; carefully, unwillingly, and seasonably; either to prevent an approaching Danger, to correct an inherent Malignity, or repair a former Loss. He that declines *Physick* till the *Danger* has seized him, and the *Disease* weakned him, is *bold* too long, and *wise* too late.

That *Peace* is too precarious that limits the Justness of a *War*, to a Sword drawn, or a Blow given.

Those that make *War*, ought to manage their Designs with *Secrecy* and *Expedition*. It is a dangerous and fatal Weakness in a *State*, to be slow of Resolution. Affairs of *War* attend no time, The prudent *Statesman* therefore ought to abhor Delay, and study more what to do,

do, than what to speak. *Slow Deliberations*, are Symptoms either of *Faint Spirits*, *Weak Forces*, or *False Hearts*.

In *War*, more than any other Profession, the *Command* ought to be *Single*; for tho' you have many *Armies* in the Field, yet ought you to commit the absolute *Command* to one *General*, Superiour to all the rest: and therefore there ought to be special Care taken in making choice of an able *General*; for he will chuse good *Officers*, and such as are fit for Action; but an *Unexperienc'd General*, if he have good Commanders, it is only owing to *Accident*. Besides this Advantage also accrues by it, the *Officers* and *Soldiers* will fight with greater Courage and Resolution under such an one; and on the contrary, your *Enemies* will be more intimidated and dispirited. Thus good *Officers* make good *Soldiers*, and good *Soldiers* are as necessary in *War*, as good store of *Gold*; therefore *War* is measured equally by *Power* and *Treasure*.

Before a *War* is commenc'd, cast an Impartial Eye upon the Cause of it; and if it be just, raise your *Army*, and let them know they fight for what *God* will prosper; this addeth Fire to the *Spirits* of a *Soldier*, to consider, that he shall either succeed, or die in an honourable *Cause*.

Be very vigilant and careful to have all your *Magazines* doubly provided, that if any Disaster befall your *Armies*, you may speedily supply them again. He that would be *victorious* in *War*, must be *laborious* in *Peace*. Be punctual in sending Supplies of Men and Money, and other *Necessaries*, to your *Army*; for often, Supplies coming too late, prove the Ruin of the whole Design; and Loss of Time is in nothing so dangerous, as in *Martial Affairs*.

We should not pass our Judgment of a General's Actions by the Success, but by the Reason; and not to lay the Fault on him, that was owing to
your

your own selves, either for want of necessary and timely Supplies, or by over restraining his Power and Authority. Besides, it is beyond the Power of any Mortal Man to foresee all Things that may obstruct and hinder his Design, and be capable of providing against so many Minute Accidents as hourly occur in such Variety of Transactions.

If you expect to have an *Army* under good *Command*, and well *Disciplin'd*, you must *pay* them punctually, and then the *General* may severely punish them with *Justice*. Take care that your *Frontier Towns* are well Fortified, well Manned and Victualled, before your *Army* take the Field.

Always reward those that do eminent Service; for by that Means, you oblige them to be faithful to you, and encourage them to do the like for the future, on other Occasions; and incite others to be ambitious to acquire the same *Honour* by the like Methods.

Be.

Be also careful that the *Honour* of such, is not blemished or diminished, because *generous Spirits* (who will easily excuse all other want of Recompence for their Services) will never endure to be robbed of the *Honour* due to their brave Actions, and will sooner stomach such a Want of due *Honour*, than any thing else; whereupon often very great Mischiefs have ensued.

You must not be too confident in the *Arm of Flesh*; nor, in your Successes, attribute too much to the *Bravery* of your *Troops*, and too little Praise to *God*; use all the lawful Means and Endeavours you can, for the Accomplishing your Designs, and by Prayer, recommend the Success to *God*.

The *Roman Senate* reserv'd nothing to themselves, but to make new *Wars*, and confirm *Peace*; every thing else they left to the Power and Arbitrement of the *Consuls*; notwithstanding there
were

were Men in the *Senate*, very well experienced in *Military Affairs*: but in regard they were not then upon the Spot, and so consequently ignorant of very many Particulars, that ought to be known by those that will give Advice, and so by interposing with their *Counsels*, they might commit many *Errors*, therefore they left it to the *Consul*, to do as he thought fit, and the Honour of it was entirely his; which they were of Opinion, would animate and inspire him to glorious Achievements. It is great Vanity and Indiscretion, both in *War* and *State*, to undertake many Enterprizes at the same time.

'Tis better for two *weak Kingdoms* to compound with each other, though it is to their Loss, than to seek for *Satisfaction* by the *Sword*; lest, while they weaken and harass one another, a third more *Potent* comes and decides the Controversy, to both their Ruins. When the *Frog* and the *Mouse* could not make up the
the

the Quarrel, in comes the *Kite*, and is made *Umpire*.

He that Commands in chief, ought neither to be *Covetous*, nor addicted to *Pillaging*; for such an one is good for nothing but himself and the *Enemy*, and in all Probability will be easily corrupted with Money; such Persons ought not to be made *Governours* of Garrisons.

A *Prince* or *State* should never imagine that they may want *Soldiers*, whilst they have *plenty* of *Men*; for if they have not, they accuse themselves of Sloth and Indiscretion, and not the *People* of Cowardice.

MAXIMS for a GENERAL of
an Army.

HE that undertakes the Command of an Army, ought seriously to consider the *Difficulties* and *Hazards* of this Charge, and then examine his own Abilities, before he enter upon it; because, if he prove *Fortunate*, and so grow *Rich*, he will be envied and maligned, and if he proves *Unfortunate*, he will be insulted and reproach'd; and if the Success doth not answer the Expectations of those employ'd by him in every *Punctilio*, they will grumble and repine, though the Fault perhaps is owing only to their Ignorance, Obstinacy or Neglect: *Generals* Actions are more often judged by their *Event*, than the *Reason* of them, which makes it very rare and difficult, for any Person to
have

have the *Command* of an *Army*, and support his *Reputation* and *Character* to the end. A *General* therefore should not undertake any *Design* timorously or rashly; and such *Things* only as he, by his *Judgment* and *Experience*, knowing his *Master's Purse*, and his own *Abilities*, are able to accomplish, and will terminate in *Victory* and *Honour*.

He ought to desire *God* to assist him in his *Counsels*, and to give his *Soldiers* *Courage* in the *Day of Battel*, for it is he that maketh our *Enemies* to flee before us, It is he that setteth up *Kings* and *Kingdoms*, and pulleth them down at his *Pleasure*.

A *General* ought to be very careful to lay his first *Designs* well, and then to omit nothing for the *Preservation* of what he hath acquired. He ought to be industrious in providing *Money*, *Men*, *Arms*, *Provisions*, *Ammunition*, and a good *Train* of *Artillery*; And all things necessary belonging to
Habit,

Habit, as Cloaths, Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, &c. He should foresee and provide, that none of these things are deficient, against he comes to put his Designs in Execution. He should be Judicious and Circumspect in chusing his *Officers*, both for their Valour and Judgment; for it is observable of the Ancient *Romans*, that in all their *Wars* they conquered more by their expert Knowledge in *Mar-tial Affairs*, than by their *Numbers* or *Valour*; and it has been the way of all able *Generals*, to perfect their *Soldiers* by frequent Exercise.

He ought constantly to observe these three Things: To recommend *commendable Actions*, to punish the *Vile* and *Base*, and always to use exact *Discipline*.

He ought never to suffer his *Soldiers* to be *idle*, but more especially in the *Army*, when it is drawn into a *Body*; for if he do not employ them in that
which

which is *Good*, they will be doing something that is *Ill*.

It is the highest Accomplishment of a prudent *General*, not only to keep his own *Designs* undiscovered, from his *Enemy*; but also to be as *Studious* and *Industrious* to discover *his*. He that can best do the one, and make the nearest guess at the other, is next step to a *Conqueror*; but he that fails in both, must ascribe his *Ruine* to his own *Folly*, or own to receive his *Victory* from the Hand of *Fortune*.

He that commands in *Chief*, should consider, that if he would be secure in *War*, he must be *Vigilant* and *Valiant*, and that Expedition and Secrecy crown all *Warlike Exploits* with Success and Glory, that *Opportunity* is the *Mother* of all worthy Actions. A General shall often meet with Instances, wherein he doth not only contend with *Men*, but *Chance*, and Things which are to be overcome with less Difficulty than an *Enemy*, and yet
are

are more Dangerous, as, *Hunger, Thirst, Cold, bad Weather, &c.*

Things which succeed well and happily, procure a *General* the Love and Affection of the *Soldier*; and Things ill managed, as much create their *Ill Will* and *Hatred*; therefore he should prefer Secure Methods to those that are Hazardous, and trust *Fortune* no further than meer Necessity requires. *Cæsar* thought it not expedient to depend on the Lubricity of *Fortune*, when he could obtain his Desires by any other means, and a wise *General* will follow *Reason*, and not *Fortune*.

War is incapable of a *Second Error*, and one single Mistake may ruine a whole *Army*; a *General* therefore should be jealous of *Possibilities*, and provide against them, accounting that which may happen to be as certain as any thing that he most expects.

A *General's Counsels* should not pass their Approbation from his Judgment only; neither should they be communicated to

M

more

more than is absolutely requisite, nor ought they to be usher'd in with Passion, but ripened with mature Deliberation. He must also be Cautious that no humorous Disrespect to particular Persons should obstruct those Resolutions that true Judgment approve ; for oftentimes it falleth out, that either particular Profit, deceitful Pleasures, and desire of Revenge, or some unreasonable Affection doth entangle them in their Proceedings, that they never come to sufficient Maturity ; This is call'd Stumbling by the way.

A *General* must be careful not to measure the Hardships of his poor, needy, discontented Soldiers by his own ambitious Thoughts ; and so lay such Projects of Difficulty on them, as are every way unsuitable to the present particular Occurrences, or such as his Soldiers are at that present not fit to execute : Nor should he be prodigal of their Blood, as they were only made to fill Ditches, or designed

signed only to be the Executioners of his Folly and Rashness.

Of all Victories, a General should think that best, that is least stained with Blood.

F I N I S.

Books Printed for Ch. Smith, at the Roe-Buck, between the Two Temple Gates in Fleetstreet.

C. *Julius Caesar's Commentaries of his Wars in Gaul, and Civil War with Pompey.* To which is added *Aulus Hirtius, or Oppius's Supplement of the Alexandrian, African and Spanish Wars.* With the Author's Life. Adorn'd with Sculptures from the Designs of the Famous *Palladio.* Made *English* from the Original *Latin* by Captain *Martin Bladen.* The second Edition improv'd, with Notes explaining the most difficult Places, the Antient and Modern Geography exactly compar'd, and *Dionysius Vossius's* Supplement collected from *Plutarch, Appian, Dion, &c.* which makes a Connexion between the Wars in *Gaul* and Civil War with *Pompey.*

The *Devout Christian's Companion,* or a compleat Manual of Devotions. Fitted for most of the Concerns of Humane Life: with particular Offices for Sick and Dying persons. To which is added, The Paschal Lamb, a Treatise explaining the Nature, Design, and Benefit of the Holy Sacrament, with suitable Devotions. Collected from the Works of Abp. *Tillotson, Bp. Patrick, Bp. Kenn, Bp. Beveridge, Bp. Taylor, Dr. Scott, Dr. Horneck, Dr. Stanhope, &c.* The Second Edition.

An Exposition of the *Church-Catechism,* after a new Method. In two Parts. The first being an Explanation by way of Question and Answer. The Second, a Scriptural Confirmation of each particular Doctrine contained therein. The one divided into 18 Sections: The other into 54 Chapters. To which is annexed, an Appendix of Prayers, both for Families and particular Persons. For the Use of the Parish of *Cirencester.* By *Jos. Harrison, A. M.* Minister of that Parish.

Books Printed, and Sold by Edm. Powell in Black-Fryars,
near Ludgate.

STRABONIS, Rerum Geographicarum Lib. 17. Accedunt
huic Editioni ad *Casaubonianam* III. Expressæ. Notæ inte-
græ *G. Xylandri*, *I. Casauboni*, *F. Morellii*, *Jac. Palmerii*; Se-
lectæ vero ex scriptis *P. Merulæ*, *J. Meursii*, *Ph. Culverii*, *L.*
Holstenii, *Cl. Salmasii*, *S. Bocharti*, *I. Vossii*, *E. Spanhemii*, *Ch.*
Cellarii, Aliorumque. Subjiciuntur *Chrestomathia*, Gr. Lat.
2 Vol. in Fol.

Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra, cum Græcis *Isaaci Tzetzi*
Commentariis. Cura & Opera *Joh. Potteri*, Fol. Item Char-
ta Magn.

C. Julii Caesaris quæ extant, omnia, ex recensione *Johannis*
Davisi, A. M. Coll. Reg. Cantabr. Socius, 4to. Item Charta
Magna.

M. Minucii Felicis Octavius, cum integris Observationibus
Nic. Rigaltii, & selectis aliorum. Recensuit, suasque Notas
adjecit *Johannes Davisius*, Coll. Reg. Cantabr. Socius, Præ-
mittitur *Fr. Balduini* Dissertatio. Rerumque & Latinitatis In-
dices, subnectuntur.

Ockleii Introductio ad Linguas Orientales, 8vo.

The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles, and Causes of their
Errors consider'd: The Mistakes and Failures of the Heathen
Priests and Wise Men, in their Notions of the Deity, and
Matters of Divine Worship are examin'd, with regard to their
being destitute of Divine Revelation. With a compleat Index.
By the Learned and Judicious *Edw. Ld. Herbert of Cherbury*. 8vo.

A Dissertation: Wherein the Fundamentals of *Natural* or
Moral Justice and *Decorum*, are laid down and clearly stated;
By a Learned Pen. 8vo.

The History of the Present Jews throughout the World;
translated from the *Italian* of *Leo Modena*, a *Venetian* Rabbi
By *Simon Ockley*, A. M. 12s.

There is in the Press, and will speedily be published.

The Life of *Hai Ebn Yokdhan*: Written in *Arabick*, above-
500 Years since, by *Abn Jophail* an *Arabian* Philosopher. In
which is demonstrated, by what Steps and Degrees Humane
Reason may, by strict Observation, attain to the Knowledge
of Natural Things, and from thence to Supernaturals; par-
ticularly the Knowledge of God, and the Concerns of another
World. Giving a succinct Account of the Philosophy of the
Arabians, and State of Learning amongst them.